



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-015
Tuesday
23 January 1990

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-015

CONTENTS

23 January 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Romanian Chief of Staff Speaks at Vienna Meeting [ROMPRES]	1
Polish Official Addresses Military Talks [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 18 Jan]	1

ALBANIA

Budapest Radio Reports Shooting Near Tirana	4
More on Shooting [AFP]	4
Trade Union Delegation Leaves for Cuba 20 Jan [Tirana Radio]	4
Alia, Carcani Greet Cambodian Counterparts [Tirana Radio]	4
PLO's 'Arafat Greets Alia on Republic Day [Tirana ATA]	4
Muhamet Kapllani To Visit Ankara 24 Jan [Tirana Radio]	5
Sokrat Plaka To Visit Athens 26 Jan [Tirana Radio]	5
Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 Jan [Tirana Radio]	5

BULGARIA

Zhelev on Beginning of Roundtable Talks [BTA]	6
Resumption of Talks Noted [Sofia Radio]	6
Bokov Statement on Reports [Sofia Radio]	6
Further on Statements [BTA]	7
Sofia Transport Workers Go on Strike [BTA]	7
Further on Strikers Demands [BTA]	8
Transport Strike Ends [Sofia Radio]	8
Workers' Demands Satisfied [BTA]	8
Alternative Socialist Movements Rally Reported [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 Jan]	8
Alternative Socialist Association Issues Platform [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Jan]	9
'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Platform [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Jan]	9
Leader Interviewed [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 4 Jan]	10
Democracy Promotion Movement Holds Conference [BTA]	11
Democracy, Glasnost Club Founded in Smolyan [Sofia Radio]	11
Publication of Democratic Union Paper Viewed [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Jan]	11
New Doctors Union Critical of Health Ministry [BTA]	12
Sofia Mayor Wins Council's Vote of Confidence [Sofia Radio]	12
Pact's Gashkov Interviewed on Ethnic Issue [NARODNA ARMIYA 10 Jan]	12
BTA Reports Census Data	13
'Slow Pace of Restructuring' Noted by Bureau [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 6 Jan]	13
Internal Affairs Minister on New Army Role [OTECHESTVEN FRONT 4 Jan]	13
Interior Minister Meets Intellectuals [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Jan]	15
BZNS Issues Appeal to Allied Agrarians [ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 3 Jan]	15
Government Supports USSR Actions in Azerbaijan [BTA]	15
Atanasov Receives EEC Vice President [Sofia Radio]	16
Andriessen Holds Talks [BTA]	16
Andriessen News Conference [BTA]	16
Economic Cooperation With SFRY Considered [Belgrade BORBA 267 Dec]	16

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mazowiecki Delegation Arrives; Met by Calfa [Prague Radio]	18
Mazowiecki, Calfa Begin Talks [Prague Radio]	18

Relations Discussed [Prague Radio]	18
Calfa Discusses Ties [CTK]	18
Dubcek Meets Mazowiecki [Prague Radio]	18
Mazowiecki Interviewed [Warsaw Radio]	19
Developments Viewed [Prague Radio]	19
Mazowiecki Ends Talks [Prague Radio]	19
Mazowiecki Meets Leaders [PAP]	19
Ex-Czech Foreign Minister Interviewed [Budapest TV]	20
Ukrainian-Ruthenian Initiative Group Formed [Bratislava PRAVDA 16 Jan]	22
Commission Spokesman on Investigation of Stepan [Prague Radio]	22
Report on Handling of 17 Nov Protests [Prague Radio]	22
Roundtable on National Council Reconstruction [Prague Radio]	23
Civic Forum on Need To Avoid Totalitarianism [Prague Radio]	23
Slovak Official Discusses Policy Statement [Prague Radio]	25
West Slovak Official Resigns Position [Bratislava PRAVDA 13 Dec]	25
New Slovak Officials Inaugurated 13 Dec [Bratislava Radio]	25
Further on Social Democratic Party Plans [RUDE PRAVO 9 Dec]	26
Jiri Pelikan on Recent Developments [CTK]	26
Officials on New Financial Laws [CTK]	26
Komarek's Energy Concept Criticized [RUDE PRAVO 19 Dec]	27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Defense Minister Denies BILD Coup Report [ADN]	28
Coup Report Supported [Hamburg BILD 23 Jan]	28
Stasi Threats Described [Hamburg DIE WELT 23 Jan]	28
Pro-Unity, Anti-SED Rallies Held [ADN]	29
New Forum Rally in Leipzig [ADN]	29
Protest in Magdeburg [ADN]	29
Modrow Speech to Roundtable 22 Jan [ADN]	30
Gysi, Opposition Leader Schnur at Roundtable [ADN]	32
Legislative Program [ADN]	33
Electoral Law Discussed [ADN]	33
Krenz, Herger Appear at Roundtable Session [ADN]	33
Krenz, Herger Apologize [ADN]	33
Krenz on Elections [ADN]	33
Honecker's Role Recounted [ADN]	34
Security Role Discussed [ADN]	34
Government Discusses 1975 Nuclear Accident [ADN]	34
Details of Accident Noted [Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 22 Jan]	35
SPD Declines To Offer Office to Berghofer [East Berlin Radio]	35
Wants Vote of Confidence [Hamburg DPA]	36
SPD Press Office Chief Resigns [ADN]	36
Magdeburg Security Office To Be Disbanded [ADN]	36
Suspected Election Fraud Investigations Begin [ADN]	36
Fence To Replace Berlin Wall [ADN]	36
1990 Trade Protocol Signed With USSR [BERLINER ZEITUNG 21 Dec]	37

HUNGARY

2-Hour Transport Strike in Budapest [MTI]	38
Assembly May Receive No-Confidence Motion [Budapest Radio]	38
Horvath Addresses Assembly on Resignation [Budapest Radio]	38
Ministry Statement on AFD, FIDESZ Reports [MTI]	40
News Conference on Interior Ministry Activities [MTI]	40
Medgyessy Chairs Council of Ministers Session [MTI]	41
Nemeth Letter Delivered to USSR's Ryzhkov [MTI]	41
HDF Delegation's Moscow Visit Reviewed [MTI]	41
Further Reportage on Visit by Japan's Kaifu	41
Szuos-Kaifu Meeting [MTI]	41
Kaifu on European Tour [MTI]	42

Nemeth-Kaifu News Conference [MTI]	42
More on News Conference [Tokyo KYODO]	43
Kaifu Ends Official Visit [MTI]	44

POLAND

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Return from CSSR [Warsaw Radio]	45
Government Spokesman on Soviet Troops, Reform [PAP]	45
Paper Comments on Transcaucasus 'Unrest' [PAP]	46
Rakowski Interviewed on Political Future [Warsaw Radio]	47
Report on New Political Parties [RZECZPOSPOLITA 20-21 Jan]	47
Commentary Urges 'East European Alliance' [Najder in RZECZPOSPOLITA 16 Jan]	48

ROMANIA

Investigation of Former Top Officials Continues [ROMPRES]	51
Former Top Ceausescu Aides Go on Trial 27 Jan [Bucharest Radio]	51
More on Upcoming Trial [Bucharest Radio]	51
Students Hold Rally, Meet Education Minister [ROMPRES]	52
Further on Rally [ROMPRES]	52
Doina Cornea Reportedly Quits NSF [AFP]	52
Government Cites New Foreign Policy Priorities [ROMPRES]	52
Deputy Labor Minister on New Wage System [ROMPRES]	53
Iliescu on Current, Long-Term Issues [ROMPRES]	53
Silviu Brucan on Front Plenary Session [Paris LE MONDE 20 Jan]	54
Radio Free Europe Interviews Brucan on RCP [ROMPRES]	55
REUTER Interviews Economy Minister [ROMPRES]	55
Chief of Staff Interviewed on Army's Role [NEPSZABADSAG 9 Jan]	55
Decree on Transferring RCP Assets to State [Bucharest Radio]	57
Decree-Laws on Layoffs, Postal Staff [ROMPRES]	58
Higher Education Activities To Resume 15 Jan [Bucharest Radio]	59
Issuance of New Regulations To Develop Tourism [ROMPRES]	59
Democratic Party Leader on Political Goals [ROMPRES]	60
Meeting of Ethnic Germans in Timisoara [ROMPRES]	60
Hungarian Participation in Leadership Urged [Budapest Radio]	60
Soviet Ambassador Views Trade Prospects [ROMPRES]	60
ADEVARUL on Romanian-U.S. Relations [11 Jan]	61
Greek Foreign Minister Samaras on Official Visit	61
Arrives, Met by Celac [ROMPRES]	61
Celac, Samaras Begin Talks [ROMPRES]	61
Samaras Ends Visit [ROMPRES]	62
Visit of Norwegian Foreign Ministry Official	62
Meets Mitran, Celac [ROMPRES]	62
Vollebak, Celac Hold Talks [ROMPRES]	62
Martian Meets Vollebak [ROMPRES]	62
Interview With Spanish Foreign Ministry Official [ROMPRES]	63

YUGOSLAVIA

14th Extraordinary LCY Congress Continues	64
Bulatovic on Proposed Amendments [Belgrade Radio]	64
Racan on Croatian Party's Views [Belgrade Radio]	64
Delegate Proposes 2-Party Split [Belgrade Radio]	65
More on Proposal To Split LCY [TANJUG]	65
LCY Relinquishes Constitutional Monopoly [TANJUG]	65
Ribicic on Slovene Stand on Transformation [Belgrade Radio]	66
Slovene Amendment Rejected [TANJUG]	66
Other Amendments Rejected [TANJUG]	66
Human Rights Amendment Adopted [TANJUG]	66
Slovene Delegates Walk Out [Belgrade Radio]	66
Milosevic Proposes Congress Continue [Ljubljana Radio]	67

Croat Delegates Call for Congress End [TANJUG]	67
Racan States Croat View on Walkout [Belgrade Radio]	67
Ribicic Explains Congress Walkout [Ljubljana Radio]	68
More on Ribicic's Remarks [TANJUG]	69
Unplanned Break in Congress [TANJUG]	69
Croatia's Racan Urges Suspension [Zagreb Radio]	69
Macedonian LC May Leave Congress [TANJUG]	70
Markovic on LCY [TANJUG]	70
Ribicic Urges Slovene Departure [Zagreb Radio]	70
Kucan: Departure Not End of LCY [TANJUG]	71
Slovenes on Congress Departure [TANJUG]	71
Croats Claim 'Were Cheated' [Belgrade Radio]	72
3d Plenum To Elect New Leaders [TANJUG]	72
Central Committee Election [Belgrade Radio]	72
Plenary Session To Continue [Belgrade Radio]	73
Pancevski Announces Plenum Adjournment [Belgrade Radio]	73
LCY Transformation Commission Meets 20 Jan [TANJUG]	73

Romanian Chief of Staff Speaks at Vienna Meeting

AU1901201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1901 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Romanian Address to the Seminar on Military Doctrines Vienna"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—Speaking during the seminar on military doctrines taking place in Vienna Colonel General Vasile Ionel, first deputy minister of national defence, chief of general staff, showed that Romania's military doctrine had a strictly defensive character. It sets from the principle according to which homeland's defence has a profoundly popular character.

In case of an aggression, not only the Army but all people will fight arm in hand to defend the country. The Romanian Army will never take part in military actions in the territory of other states, will never endanger the freedom and independence of other peoples.

Romania's military doctrine fully accords with every state's right to self-defence in case of an armed attack—right acknowledged by the UN Charter. Through its objective principles and orientations, Romania's military doctrine ensures the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, conditions for the peaceful work of our people not to be endangered, fully harmonizing with the policy of international peace, detente and security, of friendship and cooperation among peoples in Europe and throughout the world.

Polish Official Addresses Military Talks

AU2201125490 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Speech by General of Arms Jozef Uzycki, chief of the Polish General Staff and vice minister of national defense, at the military seminar in Vienna on 17 January]

[Text] The Polish delegation is taking part in this seminar with genuine pleasure because there is a clear need to take a fresh look at the doctrine applied by our Armed Forces in the new international situation. This need is also brought on by the fact that President Wojciech Jaruzelski's peaceful idea of reducing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe, announced three years ago, called for the kind of transformation of military doctrines that would make them mutually recognized as defensive.

We have come to Vienna with the intention of presenting the national defense doctrine and the activities that have been undertaken in accordance with this doctrine.

Together with the other delegations, we wish to attain the seminar's established objectives.

As experts who know the strength of modern weapons, we can imagine what the effect of their mass use in

today's Europe would be. The conviction that our continent would not survive another war is becoming universal. I think that also makes our talks important. This conviction makes us mindful of the need to alleviate the development of events in each one of the spheres we are discussing.

International relations have improved considerably in recent years and have become more democratic. Realism is beginning to dominate, especially in the political sphere, and mutual confidence is growing.

However, these positive trends are not accompanied by any radical changes in the military situation, which, in our opinion, can still not be considered safe because there are still many grounds for mistrust.

Both alliances still have too many different kinds of dangerous weapons. Research on making these weapons even more accurate and destructive continues.

A considerable proportion of forces possess considerable striking and maneuvering capability, which would enable hostilities to be transferred onto the territory of another country in the first few days of war. I have in mind the air forces, rocket forces, airborne forces, marines, and rapid deployment forces.

Some of the strategic concepts of deploying forces and accumulated combat resources that are still in effect contain a disturbing amount of aggression.

I think it is our common duty to alter this situation. We should achieve a sufficient rapprochement of views in order to eliminate more quickly all the barriers to an increase in confidence and cooperation between every state, no matter what its political views are or which alliance it belongs to.

We believe that a creative debate and a constructive exchange of views will permit a fuller understanding of the political-military principles and intentions of every country taking part in our meeting.

The Polish Republic's defense doctrine stems from our *raison d'etat*. It takes into account Poland's moral and economic potential, as well as its geopolitical and geostrategic location. It avails itself of the centuries-old complex history of Polish statehood. It also takes into account the principles of the coalitional military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states.

According to our doctrine, the state's supreme aim is to safeguard the vital interests of the Polish people—its security, right to live in peace, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

Our doctrine highlights the close connection between national security on the one hand and international security, especially European security, on the other.

The consolidation of peace and the prevention of war are considered to be the basic components of our security.

Our doctrine calls for the resolution of international conflicts and crisis situations by peaceful means.

Poland considers the UN Charter and a respect for the CSCE Final Act to be an important component of international security.

Our doctrine considers the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic to be a basic component of the state's defense system. Their primary task is to safeguard the independence, security, and sovereignty of the Polish people. The Armed Forces are organized according to the principle of minimum defense sufficiency, and their structure and numerical strength are such that they are able to repel any aggression either on their own or as part of the coalition system of defense.

This results in armed forces that possess a nonoffensive structure and are of a suitable size. While maintaining the old priority toward those units designed to conduct defense operations against attacks by airborne forces, aircraft, and armored land forces, we intend to keep these units supplied mainly with resources that are typical of defense operations.

We consider the principles of the defensive doctrine to be the cornerstone of the policy concerning Poland's national security, the guiding principle of our intentions, and an expression of our honest intentions vis-a-vis the other countries of Europe.

We realize that the credibility of any declaration must be proved in practice. We know that it is details that always raise the greatest doubts. After all, one can formulate a defense doctrine, but still harbor opposite intentions in one's strategy, tactics, and armed forces' organization. That is why, in order to ensure a conformity between words and deeds and to confirm our honesty, we are planning and fulfilling many organizational, structural, and educational undertakings.

I will present them in general terms.

Doctrinal principles are the reason behind the structure and strictly defensive nature of our Armed Forces. They are also expressed in the way in which commands, staffs, and forces are trained. The supreme objective is to prepare the forces to defend their own territory and its waters and airspace.

We consider defense to be a basic type of combat operation. It is a primary subject in the training of all levels of command, from top to bottom. We assign a key role in defense to those units that combat attacks by airborne forces, aircraft, and armored forces on land.

On the other hand, we consider attacks to be an essential part of combat. A surprise counterattack is the highest form of modern defense.

Our exercises are devoid of any signs of aggression, and do not go beyond the borders of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The training curriculum and combat regulations also illustrate the defensive nature of training.

The training of commands, staffs, and forces involves a shaping of a defense orientation. Soldiers have to be convinced that armed struggle is only to be undertaken in reply to an aggression that threatens national security.

For many years, Poland's military spending and weapons production have been at a moderate scale, sufficient to ensure the state's security and defense. When deciding on the size of the military budget, we consider not just defense needs, but also social requirements and economic capabilities.

In accordance with our defense doctrine, military spending has fallen considerably in real terms. This is illustrated by figures provided by the Ministry of National Defense, showing that military spending has fallen by 20 percent over the past 3 years.

The reduced social outlay on national defense is also illustrated by a fall in military equipment purchases and in a reduction in the numerical status of the Armed Forces.

A reduction in military orders has already curtailed the already modest manufacture of military equipment in Poland. In selected spheres, wherever this is technologically possible, enterprises that have been manufacturing military equipment are now being converted to civilian production.

Openness in the sphere of military activity is a very fundamental part of the process of building confidence between our people. Guided by the provisions of the documents concluded in Helsinki and Stockholm and by unilateral Polish decisions to restructure the Armed Forces, we are undertaking many activities, of which I will mention just a few.

Concerning the doctrine of openness and unification, we have already presented our defense intentions.

We have published detailed information about structural changes to our Armed Forces, including the names of units, their location, basic equipment, and expenditures. This is contained in the publication "The Polish Army—Facts and Figures," which is also available to you.

Via the mass media, we are informing the public about the Ministry of National Defense's decisions on restructuring our Armed Forces. We have been inviting diplomats and foreign journalists accredited in Poland to visit units that were in the process of being reduced, so as to enable them to observe this process.

We are also presenting possible variants concerning the conversion to civilian production of enterprises that have been involved in special military production so far.

Via the media and specialized publications, we are informing society about state defense expenditure, taking into account the structure of the Defense Ministry budget.

We are fully implementing the provisions of the Stockholm concluding document concerning the openness of military activity, having invited foreign military observers to watch Polish military exercises such as "Opal 87" and "Orion 89."

In addition, we are expanding our political-military contacts with NATO, neutral, and nonaligned countries. Our officers are taking part more and more frequently in joint conferences, seminars, and symposiums devoted to military policy and to increasing confidence and mutual security.

I beg to inform you that, taking present circumstances into account, we have modified our national defense doctrine, which the National Defense Committee has examined and provisionally approved.

We intend to publish our defense doctrine in the form of an open and high-ranking document, which will be equally binding on the state authorities, Armed Forces, and citizens of our country.

I conclude my speech, confident that our meeting may already be considered historic.

I believe that a visible practical confirmation of the defense intentions of the military doctrines of every CSCE participating country would be the greatest success of this seminar.

Budapest Radio Reports Shooting Near Tirana*LD2201183790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Shooting is going on near the Albanian capital, our correspondent Jozsef Orosz informs us during his on-the-spot telephone report from Tirana:

[Orosz] The calm in the Albanian capital is oppressive. There are no more policemen and soldiers on the streets and squares than normal. There are just as many as at other times—that is, they are on every corner. One of the staff members of the Hungarian Embassy in Tirana took me on a short tour this afternoon, and, at 1628, both of us heard shooting from the south-southeast of Tirana. In answer to my question, the embassy staff member said that he had never heard this kind of machinegun fire. What we noticed over a period of minutes were not the noises of—I quote—a normal shooting drill; but they were something else, although shooting drills are nearly an everyday occurrence in Albania, in the interest of the country's reinforced military defense.

Both of us heard the shooting and machinegun fire, which, at the moment, cannot be identified. However, the Albanian party and state leadership wants, by all means, to prove to the world that in the East European castle of dominos, the last one—that is, Albania—remains immobile. In two days' time the deputy foreign minister will travel to Turkey; in four days' time the foreign minister himself will hold talks in Athens; in May, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will visit Albania. Therefore, the country's foreign policy opening, which amounts to a slight gap, can have a demonstrative and agitative impact, to deny the previous reports of disturbances in Albania.

More on Shooting*AU2201182490 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT
22 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, Jan 22 (AFP)—Submachine-gun fire broke out Monday in the Albanian capital Tirana, according to a Hungarian radio correspondent in the city.

"This afternoon, as I was walking in Tirana with a member of the Hungarian Embassy in Albania, I heard submachine gun bursts at regular intervals, coming from the southeast of the Albanian capital," he reported.

The diplomat accompanying the correspondent was quoted as saying that he had "never heard such gunfire" in Tirana.

Isolated and Stalinist-ruled Albania is the only Eastern bloc state to have resisted the wave of pro-democracy movements in recent months.

Trade Union Delegation Leaves for Cuba 20 Jan*AU2001164490 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1430 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] A delegation of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions has left for the Republic of Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Workers Center. The delegation is led by Namik Dokle, secretary of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions. It will attend the 16th Congress of the Cuban Workers center.

Alia, Carcani Greet Cambodian Counterparts*AU0601210790 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Jan 90*

[Message from Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of State, and Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Cambodia—date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the Cambodian people, in the name of the Albanian people, the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and we personally convey warm greetings to you and to the friendly Cambodian people.

Wishing the Cambodian people new achievements in their economic development and national culture, as well as in the progress and consolidation of their country, we are confident that the friendly relations between our two countries will develop constantly in the future in the interest of our two peoples.

PLO's 'Arafat Greets Alia on Republic Day*AU1401142090 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT
14 Jan 90*

[Message from Yasir 'Arafat, head of the Palestinian State and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania—date not given]

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—"On behalf of our Arab Palestinian people, of my brothers of the Executive Committee of the PLO, and on my own behalf, I express to you, Excellency, and through you to your respected government and the friendly Albanian people my lofty sentiments and thanks for the solidarity and respect you reaffirmed in the message you sent to us on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the launching of our revolution.

Your solidarity with and support for our people strengthen their determination in the Liberation War, in their glorious intifada under the leadership of the PLO, their legitimate and sole representative till the realization of the victory for the liberation of their national territory from the Israeli occupiers, the return of their territories and their national rights. They retreat before no concession for their right for self-determination and the creation of a state of Palestine, with El-Kuds El Sharif as its capital. Our Palestinian people celebrate the beginning of the 26th anniversary of the revolution and are determined more than ever to continue their march in the just struggle, to defend their right to live free and independent in their state, to take part together with the other fraternal and friendly peoples in the construction and development to the good of mankind and to strengthen peace and security in the world.

I reaffirm that the relations of solidarity and mutual support between Albania and the state of Palestine will continue to develop to the interest of our two friendly peoples.

I express my wishes for your health and the prosperity of the Albanian people.

Muhamet Kapllani To Visit Ankara 24 Jan

*AU1701212890 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 90*

[Text] Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania, will pay a visit to Ankara on 24

January. He will conduct talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey on the existing friendly relations between the two countries and their further development. He will also discuss questions pertaining to Balkan cooperation and other international problems.

Sokrat Plaka To Visit Athens 26 Jan

*AU1701213690 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 90*

[Text] On 26 January, Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania, will pay a visit to Athens, where he will discuss with the Greek Government the concrete application and further expansion of the friendly relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Greece in various fields of mutual interest. Opinions will also be exchanged on questions pertaining to cooperation in the region and so forth.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 Jan

AU2001163490

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 13-19 January reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders:

Pali Miska, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and minister of agriculture, attended a national seminar on the vanguard role of agricultural enterprises in Lezhe on 19 January. (1900 GMT 19 Jan 90)

Zhelev on Beginning of Roundtable Talks*AU2201151490 Sofia BTA in English
1458 GMT 22 Jan 90*

["To Accelerate Transition to Democracy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The present BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leadership demands negotiations with the opposition, but is afraid to undertake engagements before the party congress, said Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of the Democratic Forces before the "roundtable" began today.

According to him, the reformers' wing in the Communist Party, which is now in power, is afraid of the Extraordinary Congress at the end of January lest it is attacked by Stalinists and Zhivkovists. The conservative circles can accuse the reformers in treason, weakness and other ideological "sins", Zhelyu Zhelev said.

The Union of the Democratic Forces though, wants that negotiations in essence started between the opposition and the ruling parties. One of the arguments is that the public is losing patience.

Zhelyu Zhelev thinks that transition to democracy should be speeded up. "The repressive apparatus in Bulgaria is not smaller than that of Ceausescu," he said. According to him the unfavourable development of the processes in the Soviet Union can also threaten with return of the old regime.

Resumption of Talks Noted*AU2201195590 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] The roundtable talks were resumed today after numerous difficulties and arguments. Consultations took place in the afternoon within the framework of the contact groups for further clarification of some procedural questions.

The first plenary meeting was held tonight and was chaired by Andrey Lukanov, as had been agreed upon in advance. At the very beginning of the session, it was announced that agreement had been reached to hold a unified, nationwide roundtable discussion, while the two sides should be preserved, but representatives of other political formations, and creative and other unions, and organizations will be allowed to participate within the framework of the two delegations. The aforementioned groups will preserve their independence and defend the stands of their members.

On behalf of the delegation from the Union of Democratic Forces, Zhelyu Zhelev, cochairman of the national roundtable, expressed his support for the idea of including other social organizations in the work of the roundtable.

The statement of the Union of Democratic Forces was heard at the first plenary session of the roundtable today,

within the agreed time of 30 minutes. The floor was taken by Zhelyu Zhelev, Petur Beron, and Petko Simeonov. A critical statement on behalf of the Union of Democratic Forces was also made by Yanko Yankov.

Andrey Lukanov made a statement. He touched upon some of the questions raised in the statement of the Union of Democratic Forces, but stressed that the delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and of the independent National Assembly deputies claim the right to submit their statements at tomorrow's session.

Tomorrow's session begins at 1030 [0830 GMT], and the following agenda was drawn up:

The draft agenda envisions that the question of the political system should be discussed on the basis of the following sub-questions:

1. Basic principles of democratic and political life in Bulgaria, dismantling and taking apart the bureaucratic totalitarian system.
2. Requirements from the law on parties, political, and social organizations, and movements, conditions to prevent the possibility of power being seized by one single party or social force.
3. Depolitization of certain structures of public life, such as the Army, the militia, the prosecution, the education and training of the young generation, and the law-governed settlement of the participation of political parties and organizations on an equal basis in the activities of the television and radio.
4. Division of power, functioning of the legislative and executive structures.

These topics presumably will be discussed during the first round of the roundtable talks.

Bokov Statement on Reports*AU2201202590 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] In connection with the decision adopted during the procedural talks about the manner of reporting on the roundtable talks, Bulgarian Radio and Television Director Filip Bokov made the following statement:

[Begin Bokov recording] I would like to state the view of the Radio and Television Committee in connection with the emerging misunderstandings related to reporting on the national roundtable by the television and radio, owing to which the beginning of the talks was postponed from last week to this week.

These controversies resulted from misunderstandings based on the procedural rules of holding roundtable talks, which were not clarified between representatives of the two sides.

The arguments contained the request that representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, on the one side, and the Union of Democratic Forces, on the other side, should participate in compiling the programs with the television station, which was supposed to report on the roundtable talks.

In my opinion, however, and in the opinion of the majority of radio and television employees, this is interference in our work that can not be allowed. It actually represents the substitution of the former one-party censorship by two-party or multiparty censorship. This is a question of principle that, had it not been already resolved, would have resulted in a serious offense against freedom of speech and of the press.

Fortunately, a compromise decision was reached today. The method by which the roundtable should be reported was agreed upon. The representatives on both sides of the roundtable talks gave up their requirement that they participate in selecting the material while, in exchange for this, our television crew is expected to work in close cooperation with members of the delegations designated by the delegations themselves in preparing the programs.

This agreement is a positive compromise at this stage, and it also represents a compromise on our side because we are aware of the great importance of this major nationwide event, but I would like to stress that it should not set a precedent for the way in which Bulgarian Radio and Television are expected to work in the future.

We are a nationwide institution, and we think that we are responsible to all our public and society, and not to individual personalities. For this reason, we claim the right to choose the methods with which we intend to report on major public events in our country in the future. [end recording]

Further on Statements

AU2201222990 Sofia BTA in English
2101 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Ruling Parties Discuss Political System With Opposition"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—Today the delegations of the ruling parties and of the opposition began talks on the political system. The round-table negotiations in substance finally started after two adjournments and a three-and-a-half-hour delay today for procedural arrangements.

The dismantling of the totalitarian system is the most important subject in which everybody are equally interested, said Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), at the beginning of his statement. In his view, a peaceful transition to democracy is possible in Bulgaria but it should be speeded up. "Todor Zhivkov's repressive system has not ceased to exist. We are its hostages," he added and demanded that the system be dismantled in the nearest future. In Dr

Zhelev's view, the democratization has to be accelerated because of a possible adverse turn of events in the Soviet Union and because of the need of Western economic aid.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, the head of the BCP delegation, who will make his principal expose tomorrow, stressed that he categorically distanced himself from Dr Zhelev's assessment of the situation in the Soviet Union and its viewing as an argument for an acceleration of the reform process in Bulgaria. "I deeply trust the CPSU capability to take the country out of the difficult stage. We should all realize that no matter how hard we may be seeking a multifarious orientation of our economy and international relations, the relationship with the USSR will retain its singular significance for Bulgaria." According to Mr Andrey Lukanov, without the Soviet Union's cooperation Bulgaria will be unable to find a way out of its economic difficulties. He listed national security as another major reason. "We should not hasten to move away from the Soviet Union but we must hurry to get closer to Europe," he said.

The SDS activists, Mr Petur Beron and Assoc. Prof Petko Simeonov, demanded that the BCP workplace branches be disbanded and that a future political parties act ban party organizations on a workplace basis and the existence of parties propagating racism, religious hatred or totalitarianist ambitions. The opposition furthermore wants the Army, the Ministry of (?Interior) Affairs, the law courts and the Prosecutor's Office to be depoliticized.

The political parties bill should be discussed at the round-table talks, the property status of the ruling parties (the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party) and of the nomenklatura personnel should be made public, the opposition leaders believe. They suggest that the activities of the Committee for State Security be examined at a public session of the round-table talks. The opposition wants National Radio and Television to become independent of the parties, freedom of audiovisual initiative, lifting of customs controls from the import of literature.

Tomorrow the round-table discussion will continue with the statement of the ruling parties' delegation. The government delegation has been joined by some public organizations which insisted on taking part in the talks. The delegations announce their compositions tomorrow.

Sofia Transport Workers Go on Strike

AU2201182990 Sofia BTA in English
1727 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—Buses transport workers and these of three trolley lines are on strike here [sentence as received].

The strike started this morning by the Zemlyane Bus Company whose team of workers declared back in a mid-December morning a warning strike. The outcome was a good one then, both for Sofiotes and for the company's team. At a meeting with representatives of

the Municipal Council Executive Committee an agreement was signed to solve 7 major demands of transport workers. They are related with the organization of labor and reposal, with remunerations and other social needs.

Today's real strike, according to notification, handed in a few days back at the Municipal Council, on behalf of the workers' commission and the strike committee, is a "just and last measure against the tardy reaction of the Municipal Council Executive Committee and the company leadership to the demands, placed more than a month ago."

Some time later the bus workers of the remaining two bus lines and of three trolley bus lines joined their colleagues from Zemlyane in the strike.

At present Sofiotes are going mainly on foot or by taxis, if they are lucky to get any.

Further on Strikers Demands

AU2201183390 Sofia BTA in English
1734 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—Buses and trolley buses transport workers in Sofia met currently with Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Municipal Council Executive Committee. He congratulated them from the improvised rostrum for the meeting of their just demands and assured them that a decree is prepared which is to be voiced by tonight.

A representative of the initiative committee for organizing of the strike appealed at the drivers to go to work for the second shift so as to join the heaviest hours of traffic.

This proposal was not backed. Strikers are firm in their intention to wait and see the voicing of the government decree.

Transport Strike Ends

AU2201182590 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia without bus transportation—since this morning we have been following the development of this event to examine the reasons for the strike and the difficulties involved. Last, but not least, we are also authorized to announce a happy event, namely, the end of the strike.

However, since the strike was a real event, its end should also be properly reported. A short while ago the Horizont Radio Station received telephone calls from representatives of the Sofia City Transport administrative leadership and from the initiative strike committee:

[Begin Lyudmil Dimitrov, deputy chief director of the Sofia City Transport, recording] I would like to declare to all our colleagues working in the city transport and to the people of Sofia that as a result of the prompt reaction

of both the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee and the Trade Unions Central Council, the questions raised today at the strike rally of the Zemlyane bus company were satisfactorily resolved. At the same time, I would like to apologize for the exceptional difficulties caused in our capital city and ask the citizens of Sofia for their understanding. [end recording]

Let us now hear Biser Krustev, representative of the strike committee: [Begin Krustev recording] I would like to say good afternoon, despite the fact that it was not a good day, either for us or for those who use public transport. However, unlike Comrade Dimitrov, I do not intend to submit my apologies to the people of Sofia because I think that the Sofia City People's Council should apologize and admit its guilt. Nevertheless, it is time to say that following the intervention of competent organs, which was not very prompt or energetic, of course, the problems seem to be resolved and I would also like to congratulate my colleagues on their success, and urge those who are working on the second shift to promptly take out the vehicles and to start their work in the service of Sofia's population. Good evening. [end recording]

Workers' Demands Satisfied

AU2201200590 Sofia BTA in English
1811 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The thirteen and a half-hour strike of transport workers in Sofia stopped.

At 5 hrs local time strikers were acquainted with the text of government decree, which gave workers in the Sofia City Transport higher job grades. A few minutes later the strike was stopped and the first buses joined the traffic.

Bus and trolley bus drivers and tram drivers got first grade for pensioning. Road and vehicle maintenance workers of the Sofia City Transport got second grade.

Other demands of transport workers within the competence of the Municipal Council have also been solved.

Alternative Socialist Movements Rally Reported

AU2201135390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 19 Jan 90 p 4

[Stefan Arabadzhiev report: "In Defense of Socialism"]

[Text] A rally in which representatives of the Public Forum on the Restructuring and Defense of Socialism, the "Unity" Movement on Socialist Rebirth, the Movement on Developing Marxism and Renewing Socialism, and the Alternative Forum on Restructuring the Party participated took place on 18 January at Sofia's Universiada Hall. Professor Vasil Ivanov, who chaired the rally, described it as the first mass demonstration of all public forces in our country that support the socialist road of development, before the forthcoming extraordinary party congress. He gave the floor to Professor Dr. Asen

Kutov, who read a program declaration on establishing a United Front for the Restructuring and Defense of Socialism.

Expressing concern with the consolidation of certain public forces demanding the return to capitalism, the program points out that the United Front for the Restructuring and Defense of Socialism is a voluntary union of movements, associations, platforms, and others who adhere to restructuring socialism. They all preserve their independence and the specific character of their platforms. The union's goal is to restructure the socialism that has been deformed into a democratic, humane, civic, and socialist society. In its program declaration, the front declares its support for profound political restructuring and a total government of the people, urgently resolving the pressing social problems, radically restructuring and developing according to the requirements of economic, ecological, and social efficiency. The union adheres to a rapid intellectual renewal along the road of socialist restructuring and developing the country, and will work for the unity of the workers class, peasants, and intelligentsia as the basic moving forces of socialist rebirth. The united front is for Bulgaria's unity as the motherland of all citizens, regardless of their religious and national self-awareness. It opposes the monopoly of any party; however, it does not question the Bulgarian Communist Party's leading role.

Rilka Borisova-Varya, Georgi Svezhin, Professor Mityo Yankov, Kiril Petrov, Docent Georgi Genov, Spartak Gavazov, and Yavor Dimitrov spoke in support of the political declaration. It was also supported by Mincho Minchev, representative of the All-People's Committee on the Defense of National Interests. Boyko Kolarov expressed disagreement with many of the program declaration's basic elements. On behalf of the newly formed United Front on the Restructuring and Defense of Socialism, spokesman Slavcho Georgiev read an appeal to the Bulgarian people.

Alternative Socialist Association Issues Platform

AU2301092190

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20 January on page 3 carries the 2,500-word "Political Platform of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO)."

The platform points out that "the Alternative Socialist Association is an organized group of similarly thinking people that assumes the functions of a party faction within the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]." "Marxism in its undogmatic form and mankind's humane and democratic ideological traditions" are pointed out as the "ASO's ideological sources."

The platform also asserts that the "ASO rejects the apparatus manner of restructuring the party," and "concepts such as 'democratic capitalism,'" and adheres to

"humane and prudent transition toward a really civilized and democratic society." It is pointed out that "the BCP in its present state is not capable of acting for this transition."

The ASO's platform advocates the "democratization of all spheres of public life;" "establishing a civilized society based on democracy;" and "establishing a political system based on real pluralism and the multiparty system." The association later demands "to decentralize political power;" "establish the supremacy of law;" "promote freedom of economic initiative;" and "national reconciliation through dialogue."

The ASO's platform emphasizes that the "achievement of a social state is impossible without really transforming the BCP." According to it, the BCP must be "a party of reforms;" "a really democratic party;" and a "parliamentary party that functions in accordance with Bulgaria's Constitution and laws." "All this presupposes the de-Bolshevization of the party," the ASO platform reads.

The final part of the platform deals with the ASO's "program of action," and outlines the following goals of the faction: "To base the BCP on the principle of cost-accounting;" "to destroy the obsolete totalitarian structures;" "to elect a new parliament and adopt a new constitution that assert parliamentary democracy;" "to stabilize the economic situation and create conditions of overcoming the economic crisis;" "to totally depoliticize the Army, the security and internal order forces, and the state administration;" "to remove all corrupt persons, or persons connected with the repressions;" and "to remove all privileges based on official position and party or social status."

The platform is signed by "ASO's Provisional Council, Sofia, 'Gavril Genov' Street No. 6."

'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Platform

AU2301091990

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20 January on page 3 carries the 2,500-word "Basic Premises of the 'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Platform." The "Basic Premises" begin with a list of 10 principles that serve as the basis of the platform, namely: "To make the most important selection, namely—to exist within Europe or outside Europe; to relinquish the claim that a 'Bulgarian model' of socialism is being constructed in Bulgaria;" to view socialism "not as a type of social system, but as a civilized process and a tendency in mankind's development; to adopt the "European state system, namely, a multiparty system, separation of power, and so forth;" to create a "mixed system of ownership of the European kind, namely, state, cooperative, and private property;" to modernize the economy "beginning with the main issue—a real economic integration with Europe;" while asserting European elements in Bulgaria life, "to preserve the Bulgarian characteristics of our cultural life that must be open to the world;" to refrain from "proclaiming any

ideology as the official one; to create conditions for the development of all civilized religious traditions;" and "to depoliticize the Army and the organs of security and public order."

The "Basic Premises" also describe the place of the intelligentsia, administrators, military, private producers, students, and pensioners in the social system proposed by the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform. Repeatedly stressing the importance of the "freedom of the Bulgarian citizens," the platform lists the following "unconditional prerequisites" of this freedom: guaranteeing "health protection for all;" providing "European education;" intensifying apartment construction; abolishing the "city citizenship;" and "removing all restrictions to traveling throughout the world."

In conclusion, the "Basic Premises" point out that "while Bulgaria's road to Europe is possible also without the active participation of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], every prudently and realistically thinking person understands that this is not the shortest way." A "change in the party" is suggested along the following lines: "to become a normal party that competes in normal elections;" "to be a party that struggles for socialism," rather than a party that "calls the struggle for power—socialism;" to abolish the "semi-military hierarchy of the party;" to introduce real elections for all party posts; and finally, "to become a party that belongs to the leftist socialist movement in the world."

The "Basic Premises" are signed by "the Coordination Council, Sofia 1,000, 'Benkovski' Street No. 6."

Leader Interviewed

AU0901211390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 4 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr. Petur-Emil Mitev, chairman of the 'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Coordination Council, by RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter Petur Punchev; date and place not given: "'We Adhere to Unity of All Socialist Forces'"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Punchev] Do you know how many party members support the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform?

[Mitev] In less than one week, more than 1,000 people have called the telephone numbers given in the NARODNA MLADEZH each day. A large amount of them said that they were speaking on behalf of entire party organizations, which had already discussed the platform and have a positive attitude toward it.

[Punchev] I personally know at least three internal party platforms: Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]—Democratic Forum, the Alternative Socialist Association, and the "Bulgarian Road to Europe." What is your attitude toward the other two platforms. Do you not think that they are too close to each other, something that does not justify their separate existence?

[Mitev] Yes, I think that a common idea is vested in them—the de-Stalinization of the party and its democratization, comprehensively changing internal party life, reorganizing relations between the party and the state, and the party's new place in society. I think that the goodwill of the people who formed those platforms would be a precondition of uniting them in the future. I think that the road that was selected—creating different platforms—is valuable for the party. Let us profoundly study those programs, enrich and perfect them, and then on the basis of the real response they evoke reach a common concept that would facilitate the transformation of the party and its unity on a democratic basis.

[Punchev] Circles within the Alternative Socialist Association believe that the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" is not interested in uniting the faction....

[Mitev] It is true that we do not want to be a faction. We know that also in the faction there are people who support our platform, however, we do not want to be a faction. We think that it is correct to present first a program to the party itself, and then seek unification on the basis of this program. Nevertheless, I would like to specifically say that we are not against the existence of a faction within the party. On the contrary, we think that the right to form factions should be incorporated in the statute.

[Punchev] There is another thing I do not want to pass over in silence. Some people interpret this unwillingness to unite as the result of the personal ambitions of the initiators of the separate platforms.

[Mitev] I can speak for myself. I have no ambitions to become a political leader. My participation in political life has been prompted by the situation in the country and the party. I hope to be able to resume my scientific activity very soon. [passage omitted]

[Punchev] What relations do you think there should be between the party and the recently restored Bulgarian workers' Social Democratic Party (United)?

[Mitev] We adhere to the unity of all socialist forces.

[Punchev] Finally, can you really and unemotionally assess the chances of the BCP to unite on the basis of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe Platform"? How real are those chances?

[Mitev] It really would be very difficult to unite the entire party on this basis. I think that we could try to unite the overwhelming majority of the party. There are people today in the party, who for various reasons, could not become adherents to democratic socialism.

[Punchev] In other words, you do not exclude the possibility of a split in the BCP....

[Mitev] I do not exclude it. Simultaneously, I do not find this very tragic. I think that we must do the maximum to unite the majority of democratically thinking people in the party, however, we should not forget that there are

reform and conservative wings in the party, and they have existed for a long time. This was an unnatural situation, at which ostensibly a united party existed, but it did not have any internal democracy. Thus, people with rather different views were members of the same party, without being able to normally and naturally resolve their ideological, theoretical, and political issues. In this context, a split in the party would not be an unnatural phenomenon.

[Punchev] Do you not think that this would weaken the party on the eve of the election this spring?

[Mitev] I think that the main thing is to effect a change in the country's course and democratize the country itself. The party's participation with a platform that adequately corresponds to the needs of our time in this process is one of the conditions for effecting this change. In this context, the "rotten compromise" that springs from the anti-democratic legacy we inherited from our past, would make our development much more difficult.

Democracy Promotion Movement Holds Conference

AU2201221990 Sofia BTA in English
2107 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The Movement for the Promotion of Marxism and the Renewal of Socialism held its first national conference here today. The delegates discussed the platform and elected a National Coordinating Committee.

The movement declares itself in favour of a Marxism free of the Stalinist dogmas and upgraded to a modern level. It seeks to activate and organize the theoretical and political activity of everybody who are looking for a way out of the current economic, socio-political and moral crisis of Bulgarian society.

The participants considered questions concerning Marxism and the crisis of socialism, the Marxist alternative of a way out of the crisis, political pluralism and glasnost.

The national conference adopted a resolution welcoming the idea to hold national round-table talks. "However, we do not agree that these negotiations should decide matters fateful for our society such as the formation of a coalition government and redistribution of power behind the back of the people without giving them a say at free elections," the resolution says.

Democracy, Glasnost Club Founded in Smolyan

AU0901150290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The Club on Democracy and Glasnost was founded in Smolyan. Our correspondent Georgi Radev reports:

[Begin Radev recording] The club was founded by more than 30 intellectuals from Smolyan and the municipality. The new organization aims at discussing publicly and openly the most topical and urgent problems that directly affect the people's future—the economic situation of the country and the people's standard of living, human rights issues, the total rehabilitation of all those who have been repressed during Todor Zhivkov's regime, ecological problems, the pace of change, the true extent of glasnost, and so forth.

The program declaration explicitly points out that the club will function fully on the basis of the Constitution, within the framework of the existing laws, and in total support of the December plenums of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee. [end recording]

Publication of Democratic Union Paper Viewed

AU2201212590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 20 Jan 90 p 2

[Katya Yaneva report: "When Will the Newspaper of the Union of Democratic Forces Appear?"]

[Text] For the time being, one cannot set a specific date on which the newspaper will appear. However, there are no difficulties related to printing. Engineer Nikola Balabanov, director of the "Dimitur Blagoev" State Printing Enterprise in Sofia, assured us of this. Meetings to clarify the details took place between the leadership of the printing house and representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces on 17 and 18 January. A contract has already been signed, and the production cost has been determined. It does not differ from the production cost of the other dailies. The timetable and special printing crews have also been arranged.

Thus, the newspaper of the Union of Democratic Forces will appear five times weekly (Monday through Friday), with four pages. It will have a circulation of 70,000 copies and its format will be identical to that of other dailies.

There will be no discrimination against the new newspaper in anything related to the time of printing. Like all other morning editions, it will enter the production hall at 0130 [2330 GMT] and leave at 0500. According to the established timetable, the articles will be set from 1400 until 0030.

So far the leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces has not announced the name of the new daily and its graphic concept. The Secretariat and proofreading crews have not been appointed yet. Therefore, the director of the "Dimitur Blagoev" State Printing House says: "We are ready to begin work. They are the ones that have problems, not us."

Talks also took place between the leadership of the printing house and representatives of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. It will also publish its organ—the weekly SVOBODEN NAROD [FREE PEOPLE].

The weekly will appear every Wednesday. It will be printed with eight pages, and will have a circulation of 50,000 copies. The first issue will be brought to the printing house on 22 January, and will appear on Wednesday [24 January].

New Doctors Union Critical of Health Ministry

*AU1401000890 Sofia BTA in English
1924 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—380 doctors and dentists representing over 3,500 of their colleagues from all over Bulgaria established a Bulgarian Doctors' Union here today.

The union is an ideological successor of the Bulgarian Doctors' Union which has been established in 1901 and which has stopped its existence in 1948. The union will be an independent professional organization of equal-rights doctors and dentists. Its chief aims will be to protect the prestige of doctors, raising of their professional level, consolidation of the ethical norms of the profession, organization of different forms of mutual assistance.

Among the most immediate tasks of the union is giving a vote of non-confidence to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Sofia Mayor Wins Council's Vote of Confidence

*AU1301200690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] At exactly 0900 today, the Sofia City People's Council began its eighth session in Hall 11 of the People's Palace of Culture. Reporter Ivan Obretenov returned from the session a short while ago.

[Begin Obretenov recording] There are 12 items on the agenda of today's session, but at 1100, two hours after the start of the meeting, neither the reports nor the debates had begun on any of them. The reason for this was that in connection with the statement, disseminated by the mass media, by National Assembly Deputy Aleksandur Karakachanov calling for the resignation of Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council, because of the unseemly events that occurred on 26 October during the European Ecoforum, the mayor of Sofia asked the session to examine the matter and to issue a decision on the proposal of whether or not he should be given a vote of confidence.

Stefan Ninov explained to the city people's councillors that the full responsibility for the unpleasant incidents in October lay with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, led at the time by Georgi Tanev. Seven people's councillors made speeches during the debate on the matter. I can report that one hour ago it was announced that as a result of a secret ballot, with 15 votes cast against and 105 votes for the motion, the meeting passed a vote of confidence in Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive

Committee. The vote of confidence was supported by 200 representatives of the students of Sofia City, in whose name Tsano Tsanev spoke, putting forward their arguments.

Before the session began its actual business, a proposal by People's Councillor Khristo Tenev was adopted that an address should be prepared in support of the draft declaration approved last night by the Public Council under the National Assembly. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Pact's Gashkov Interviewed on Ethnic Issue

*AU1201201390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 10 Jan 90 p 4*

[Report on interview with Colonel General Ivan Gashkov, Bulgarian representative of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Command, by the SOFIA PRESS AGENCY in Sofia on 8 January: "There Are No Grounds for Misgivings"]

[Text] Sofia, 8 January (SOFIA PRESS AGENCY)—Reporters from the SOFIA PRESS AGENCY interviewed the ambassadors of the USSR, the United States, the FRG, Great Britain, and France in Bulgaria, representatives of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Command in Bulgaria, and the NATO secretary general in Brussels, asking them about the policy of their respective countries or organizations with respect to the possibility of Turkish interference in Bulgaria, according to the well-known scenario related to the occupation of Northern Cyprus in connection with the development of the ethnic conflict.

Colonel General Ivan Gashkov, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, was the first to answer this question:

The national and ethnic relations in any state whatsoever have always been most sensitive. This applies to such relations in our socialist countries. Different nations living in one state, especially in a close community, should treat each other with respect and practice tolerance in their mutual relations; they should assist each other in settling the problems of their cultural and economic development.

I think that the ethnic conflict in Bulgaria should be regarded as a misunderstanding because for many years different nations have lived on Bulgarian territory in mutual understanding, peace, and friendship, and have solved complicated problems of their life without any misunderstandings. The abuses committed in connection with violations of constitutional rights and freedoms committed in recent years were eliminated by a joint decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic on 29 December 1989. We now have every reason to assume that the affected cultural rights and freedoms of Bulgarian citizens from the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population have been restored, and that they have the

opportunity to actively participate in the renewal of Bulgarian society, together with the other citizens of this country.

As regards the misgivings of some citizens related to armed interference by other countries and attempts to obstruct the current process of renewal in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, similar misgivings are deprived of any grounds. Controversies in the world today, regardless of their nature, are resolved in a peaceful manner, and not through conflicts. The policy of interference in the affairs of foreign states and of armed interference, in particular, is not likely to find any support among the peoples of the world today.

The fact that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other socialist countries, is a member of the Warsaw Pact should also be taken into consideration.

BTA Reports Census Data

AU101145490 Sofia BTA in English
1136 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—On January 1, 1990 Bulgaria had a population of 8,933,000, merely 6,000 up from January 1, 1989.

Birth rates retain their very low level: 12.6 per 1,000. Last year's death rate was 11.8 per 1,000. The natural population growth, therefore, now stands at merely 0.75 per 1,000.

According to the Central Statistical Board, in 1989 the country registered its highest infant mortality rate in the last 10 years: 14.4 per 1,000 live births.

Bulgarians now have an average life expectancy of 71 years (a little over 68 years for a man and 74 years for a woman). People with long lives can only be found in the mountain areas. Cardiovascular and blood diseases and malignant growths remained the most numerous causes of death in 1989.

The population is declining in all parts of the country except in Sofia (where it grew by 2,600 people last year), Plovdiv, and Varna, despite the measures taken to curb migration to these cities. The largest number of people have left the regions of Lovech and Mikhaylovgrad in northern Bulgaria.

'Slow Pace of Restructuring' Noted by Bureau

AU1001153690

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 6 January on page 3 carries a 1,000-word "open letter by the Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Organization in the 'Stomana' Company in Pernik," to the "BCP Central Committee Politburo, Comrade Petur Mladenov, and RABOTNICHESKO DELO."

The letter expresses "thoughts and proposals prompted by the dynamic processes." The writers note the fact that

"the majority of the party slogans on democratization, humane society, and pluralism" have become "almost exclusively slogans of the opposition," and they urge the party "to keep the initiatives in its hands."

The letter notes "the slow pace of restructuring in the party and, first of all, in the apparatus." The "delay in working out a new party political platform, statute, and program on the basis of democratic principles and humane socialism" is noted by the letter. "Concern" is expressed about the "lack of fundamental changes in the style of work of the BCP Central Committee and the BCP oblast and municipal committees."

In conclusion, the letter demands that "the trial of those responsible for the present situation in the party and the country should begin immediately."

Internal Affairs Minister on New Army Role

AU1001120090 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Internal Affairs Minister Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev by Zvyatko Belenski; date and place not given: "Democracy and Guaranteed Defense Capacity"]

[Excerpts] In connection with several readers' letters, questions asked, demands voiced in mass media, and slogans raised at rallies throughout December 1989, a representative of our editorial board spoke to Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, then first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the People's Army General Staff, who was appointed minister of national defense at the end of the year.

[Belenski] Can you describe your views on the further development of restructuring within the People's Army following the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee December plenums? How are democracy and glasnost developing in Army life, in the soldiers' everyday life, and activities?

[Semerdzhiev] The changes in our country since the decisive date of 10 November 1989 really represented a turning point. Involving all spheres of national life, they naturally exerted a tremendous impact upon the processes of renewal within the Armed Forces. This is so because the Army has always been and will always remain an integral part of our people. The Army lives with the people's thoughts, it shares their joys and sorrows. Today, again, when the last 45 years of Bulgaria's development are being subjected to thorough and strict reassessment, when solutions are sought for preserving the past achievements and opening new opportunities and paths for overcoming the sharp contradictions that have accumulated, in order to guarantee our people's worthy role in the worldwide community, these problems are naturally the concern of all our soldiers. Among the numerous feelings and thoughts that fill our soldiers' hearts and inspire their consciousness, the total

approval for the change in the political and state leadership and the support for the new political and strategic line are certainly prevailing. I am dwelling on these factors because they represent the political, social, moral-psychological basis of the comprehensive defense organization within the Army under the new conditions, and because they naturally determine the substance of the democratization processes within the Army.

It is incorrect to oppose the principle of democratization to the principle of one-man command and to the requirements of the Army statutes setting the rules for Army life. As strange as it may sound, prerequisites for the application of quite democratic forms of discussing the basic issues of the soldiers' everyday life, training and preparation of the sub-units and units, and even for the solution of basic organizational questions of the Armed Forces, also existed in the past in Army life. Collective organs, such as the Ministry of National Defense Collegium, the military councils of Army branches and the associations in whose activities the collective principle was very strongly emphasized have always existed in the army's Administrative system. The statute of these collective organs ensures the opportunity of quite freely discussing all basic problems related to the development of the army organism. This is a genuine expression of pluralism of opinions. This does not apply to actions, however, because a lack of unity in this respect would be disastrous for Army life. [passage omitted]

We are expecting the organization of officers' conferences that should be an opportunity for officers to elect their own leaderships in a fully democratic manner. I am convinced that the official establishment of the democratic processes will suggest even better solutions. [passage omitted].

[Belenski] The programmatic requests of the Union of Democratic Forces contain a proposal on the depolitization of the Armed Forces. Can this proposal be accepted, and, if not, why?

[Semerdzhiev] I think that the question is not very precise. It prompts me to ask you a question in turn: "Do you know any country in the world whose army is not involved in politics?" The army is part of the political superstructure, of the state-political organization of society, and, therefore, it serves the latter's political goals. Officially, no political organizations exist in the armies of capitalist countries. However, is this the case in the Turkish Army, and whom does it serve? Is it necessary to cite examples of the role that this army plays in public life?

I understand that the meaning of this question is to explain the role of the Bulgarian People's Army in our society, and its relations with the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in particular. The present state of affairs is the result of a long historical process and it is incorporated in the country's Constitution. In the future, this problem will be resolved by fully taking into consideration the requirements of the new constitution and the

law on defense that is expected to be prepared, as well as on the basis of the new national military doctrine.

It appears from a statement that the minister of national defense made at the most recent National Assembly session that the Ministry of National Defense attaches great importance to the law, and we are confident that it will provide an answer to this question. Distinguished political, state, and public figures, representatives of sociopolitical organizations, legal experts, economics, sociologists, and representatives of the arts and the creative intelligentsia should be involved in preparing this law. The National Assembly should have the last word in this respect.

[Belenski] Now that there is so much talk about peace and disarmament, is a 2-year term of service and training in the Army required? Can the question of reducing the length of Army service be subject to discussion?

[Semerdzhiev] This question is as important as it is complicated. It cannot be discussed without taking a series of factors into consideration—factors both related to domestic and foreign policy. We are in favor of a world without weapons, and I think it is unnecessary to waste time in explaining the profoundly peace-loving spirit of our society and the principles of our foreign policy.

I presume that the OTECHESTVEN FRONT readers have paid attention to the information on the defense minister's statement at the recent National Assembly session about the number of the Bulgarian People's Army and its armaments, citing analogical data about Turkey and Greece. [passage omitted]

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has no territorial claims and does not regard any neighboring country as an enemy. Reasonable defense sufficiency is the basic principle on which the Bulgarian People's Army is organized. But can we fail to take into consideration the fact that the Turkish side is trying to exclude its armed forces expected to be included in a future agreement at the Vienna negotiations? The Turkish Army has established a large military industry. Tremendous financial resources are devoted to the construction of a developed military infrastructure in Turkey and military expenditures are increasing. [passage omitted]

This is an opportunity to come back to the question of reducing the military service of young people that you asked. If the term should be reduced to 1 year, this would mean that the size of the Bulgarian People's Army should be reduced by half, and it would also mean that the number of troops outside the Bulgarian People's Army that is engaged in vitally important tasks for the country, though not related to defense, should also be reduced by half.

The problems of reducing the country's Armed Forces and the Bulgarian People's Army, in particular, could find a positive solution at a later stage, when the positive changes in the world, and especially between East and

West, have become irrevocable and the military threat has disappeared. Our country's policy is aimed at this goal, however, under the present circumstances, and because of the our country's specific military strategic situation, this step is impossible.

I respect the arguments prompting parents and young people to demand a reduction of the military service, but as we see, the problem is related to the defense of the country's national interests and defense. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Meets Intellectuals

AU0601210990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 3 Jan 90 p 6

[BTA report: "Joint Efforts in Defense of National Interests"]

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership met with representatives of the creative intelligentsia and newly established public organizations on 2 January at the initiative of Internal Affairs Minister Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev.

The minister presented the Ministry leadership's position on the issues of restructuring that is taking place now in the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and stressed the necessity of applying joint efforts to the defense of the all-national interests of the country. In an open dialogue, the participants were informed about the problems that the ministry's organs encounter and resolve under conditions of the new realities and ideas.

The supremacy of the law in the comprehensive activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was pointed out, as well as the damage caused by placing political interests above the law—a deformation that had affected separate units and officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to various degrees.

We adhere to independent political activity, which must be the center of the public attention and, simultaneously, under the control of the public, the minister said.

The participants in the meeting—Professor Ivan Nikolov, Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Khristo Ganev, Petur Beron, Stefan Prodev, Academician Kiril Vasilev, Academician Nikola Popov, and Marko Ganchev—presented their opinions on many issues related to the activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and made useful proposals and recommendations.

Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev answered questions.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of respect and mutual understanding.

BZNS Issues Appeal to Allied Agrarians

AU0901231890 Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME
in Bulgarian 3 Jan 90 p 1

[Appeal issued by the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union Permanent Board to "all allied agrarians in the country" in Sofia on 2 January]

[Text] Allied Agrarians, in the crucial time in which we live—a time of radical changes in the country's political, economic, and social life—the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] fully understands that only the unity of its ranks will begin a new page in its history, full of the allied agrarians' worthy contribution to constructing a law-governed, democratic, and prospering Bulgaria.

Guided by this supreme BZNS interest, the Permanent Board appeals to the oblast, municipal, and local BZNS leaderships, their noted figures, and to the BZNS officials and members who proclaimed themselves to be in opposition and had to experience prison and camps—all those who cherish the ideas of Aleksandur Stamboliyski—to begin honest, legal, and open dialogue for restoring the membership of all oppressed BZNS members and to unite under a single banner.

Time does not wait!

Accountability-election meetings and conferences of the BZNS local, municipal, and oblast organizations are to take place. It is our common duty to turn them into a real tribune of unity!

Time does not wait!

At those meetings and conferences, the most worthy among our brothers who survived the difficult time of repression must be proposed and elected as members of the BZNS organs. Let the BZNS appear at its 36th congress as a powerful, united, and rallied organization!

Any other position will inflict grave and irreparable damage to the political future of the BZNS and to its role in our society!

The BZNS Permanent Board.

Sofia, 2 January, 1990.

Government Supports USSR Actions in Azerbaijan

AU2201205490 Sofia BTA in English
1933 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—In connection with the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia, an official of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the BTA that the ministry was deeply concerned over the fratricidal conflict. "Dialogue, prudence and mutual tolerance are the way to end the tragedy and to achieve reconciliation," he said.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses support for the measures which the USSR state leadership has been compelled to take in order to safeguard the life and the security of the population in the two republics and to guarantee the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the USSR. "We earnestly hope that sound reason will prevail as soon as possible and that civil peace will be restored," the diplomat indicated.

Atanasov Receives EEC Vice President

*AU1301223690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov today received EEC Vice President Frans Andriessen, who arrived in Bulgaria at lunchtime today.

The visitor expressed his satisfaction with the democratic changes in Bulgarian political and economic life. He stressed that the Bulgarian Government stabilization program planned for this year will create favorable opportunities for speedily concluding the negotiations with the EEC and for a propitious settlement of the issues connected with rendering assistance in solving the structural problems in the Bulgarian economy, most of all in the fields of agriculture and the food industry.

Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations, was also present at the meeting.

Andriessen Holds Talks

*AU1301223790 Sofia BTA in English
2030 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Frans Andriessen, vice president of the Commission of the European Communities, who is on a visit in this country.

The guest stressed that he follows with great interest the deep democratic changes underway in the political and the economic life of Bulgaria. He assessed as good the stabilization program, envisaged for this year by the government, for a transition to a market economy, for overcoming of the difficulties and for provision of unity in the treatment of all kinds of property. In this connection Mr Frans Andriessen pointed out that he sees an opportunity for fast conclusion of the talks on the signing of an agreement and for favourable resolution of the questions related to the aid for the Bulgarian economy chiefly in the sphere of agriculture and food industry.

Frans Andriessen held talks with Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, and with Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations.

The guest has been informed of the political and economic reforms underway in this country at present which are oriented toward pluralism and democracy, toward the construction of a law-abiding state. Questions related to the envisaged stabilization program of the government and the steps toward a market economy,

foreign economic policy, the opportunities for investment production and economic cooperation with foreign partners provided by the envisaged land bill and the new initiatives in agriculture have been discussed.

The sides have also viewed the opportunities for conclusion of the talks on a trade agreement, on trade and economic cooperation in the near future. Along with that the opportunities for initiatives of the Group of 24 have been pointed out in connection with provision of economic and financial aid to the reforms in the East European states, Bulgaria included.

Andriessen News Conference

*AU1401203790 Sofia BTA in English
1817 GMT 14 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Late last night Mr Frans Andriessen, vice president of the Commission of the European Communities, spoke before Bulgarian and foreign journalists. He pointed out that he looks with optimism at the future cooperation between Bulgaria and the European communities. A guarantee to this end has been given to him by his talks here and by his impressions of irreversibility of the democratic processes. The expected economic reforms and transition to market economy are among the most important conditions for joining this organization.

We are interested in what happens in Bulgaria because we live in Europe. We don't intend to create a close community. The EC must be a community which includes different European countries, which are democratic and have economy oriented toward the market, said he.

The guest pointed out that in the near future will be resumed the talks on the signing of an agreement for trade and cooperation between Bulgaria and the EC. As prospective spheres, in the beginning, he sees agriculture, the food and light industry, tourism, the construction of the infrastructure, environment, and training of personnel.

Mr Andriessen said that he had a meeting with representatives of the Independent Democratic Forces and had been acquainted with their views about the reforms in Bulgaria.

Economic Cooperation With SFRY Considered

*AU0801195790 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 89 p 3*

[Nenad Briski report on interview with Finance Minister Belcho Belchev; date and place not given: "Everything That Is Superficial Must Be Scrapped"]

[Excerpts] After 15 months—the time he spent in Belgrade as ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria—Belcho Belchev returned to Sofia last week to finally take up a post in the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and when an even more

far-reaching reconstruction of the highest leadership was carried out, Belcho Belchev was elected a member of the Politburo and minister of finance. [passage omitted]

Now that he is returning to a more than responsible post, and considering Bulgaria's economic situation, the first question that we asked related to ways out of this crisis.

Consequences of the Structure

[Briski] At the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party two weeks ago, it was obvious that clear ideas exist about the crisis and about the need to get out of it, but the impression was that there is still no concept on the best way to get out of this crisis.

[Belchev] As regards the situation in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, it should above all be stressed that, on the basis of three indicators, the party leadership came to the conclusion that the country is in a deep economic crisis: First, the rate of development has fallen steeply in the last 10 years; second, the foreign debt reached a gross level of \$10 billion; and third, the internal debt, which has also risen in the last few years, also amounts to \$10 billion. This is a consequence of the structure of the Bulgarian economy. [passage omitted]

[Briski] Poland and Hungary, which are also in a serious economic situation, have intensified cooperation with international monetary institutions and the EEC. Will Bulgaria also act in this way?

[Belchev] In such a situation it is correct to seek help. To be honest, we are a country that has a great debt, but we have never been even 1 day late in repaying it. We intend to act this way in the future too, and we have the potential for that. Our task will be to widely use modern international financial conditions and all sources of finance for development.

[Briski] That means you will cooperate more closely with these institutions and organizations?

[Belchev] Certainly. [passage omitted]

[Briski] After spending 15 years in Belgrade, how do you see the opportunities for Yugoslav-Bulgarian cooperation and have these been used?

[Belchev] I was not only in Yugoslavia for 15 months (as ambassador) but I was also president of the Bulgarian half of the mixed committee of these two countries for 12 years. I think that it is necessary to deepen links to a great extent. Unfortunately, trade is still based on the traditional way of trading and we cannot boast about modern forms of cooperation, at least not in the wider sense. Cooperation makes up less than 5 percent of trade. Links in which one side cannot do without the other—which means that one part is made in Yugoslavia and the other in Bulgaria, and that no one can make the final product without the other—are still undeveloped. We must develop relations in this direction.

Had We Been a Little Wiser

[Briski] Which branches of the economy do you have in mind?

[Belchev] In my opinion, this cooperation should exist in electrical engineering, the chemical industry, and the machine-building industry. I will cite an example. In both our countries, enterprises have been built in the metal industry that cost billions.

[Briski] Smederevo and Kremikovtsi (the Bulgarian Smederevo)?

[Belchev] Exactly. The same thing is being produced in both our countries. The distance from Sofia to Belgrade or even to Ljubljana is such that if we produce something in Burgas and we use it in Kyustendil, it does not matter whether it is produced in Serbia, Slovenia, or Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our situation as neighbors and our geographical position have given us such possibilities that—had we been a little wiser—one of us could have produced one thing and the other something else, and we could have complemented each other, without wasting billions producing the same thing. Of course, a number of conditions are needed for this and I am aware that this involves the way payments are made and the use of real international market relations. We are talking about the rate of exchange, prices, and dozens of such things, but we could have worked more wisely despite this. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki Delegation Arrives; Met by Calfa*LD2201093790 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 0900 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Republic, arrived today for a 1-day friendly visit to the CSSR. He was welcomed at Prague-Ruzyně Airport by Federal Premier Marian Calfa, on whose invitation the visit is taking place.

The Polish premier and his entourage—Izabella Cywinska, minister of culture and arts, and Bronislaw Kaminski, minister of environmental protection and natural resources, and other people—were also greeted by Deputy Federal Premiers Josef Hromadka and Frantisek Reichel.

Mazowiecki, Calfa Begin Talks*LD2201131290 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1130 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Bilateral Czechoslovak-Polish talks opened in Hrzansky Palace in Prague today. The premiers of both countries, Marian Calfa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, respectively, first exchanged views alone, except for interpreters. Talks between the two delegations then followed.

This morning Tadeusz Mazowiecki, accompanied by Marian Calfa, paid a visit to Vsetaty, where he paid his respects to the memory of the mourned student Jan Palach. Both statesmen laid wreaths with ribbons in national colors on his grave in his native village. As the Polish premier said, it was not a coincidence that he has begun his visit in a free and democratic Czechoslovakia precisely by paying homage to Jan Palach. He said that Palach's sacrifice has remained in the memory of the Czechoslovak nation and in the memory of people fighting for freedom throughout the past years.

Relations Discussed*LD2201153690 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1430 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Bilateral Czechoslovak-Polish talks, first at the level of premiers, and then between the delegations of the two countries, opened in Prague today.

A press statement says that Marian Calfa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki called for a change in the quality of mutual relations between the two countries in the political, economic, ecological and cultural spheres. They said that contacts between Czechoslovakia and Poland would have to be put on a new legal basis. Marian Calfa gave a gala dinner in honor of Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Calfa Discusses Ties*LD2201215290 Prague CTK in English
1738 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague Jan 22 (CTK)—"It is for the first time since free conditions were created that Czechoslovakia

welcomed the visit of a premier," Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa stated during the talks of Czechoslovak and Polish delegations here this morning.

The talks highlighted a number of problems to be submitted to experts, inter alia the need to prepare a new contractual basis for mutual relations and to find new forms of economic cooperation.

Another group of experts will propose rules for compensation in case of ecological accidents. Any new nuclear power station put into operation in Czechoslovakia will be accompanied by a reduction of thermal power plants in North Bohemia. The controversial Czechoslovak project of the coking plant in Stonava (north Moravia), viewed as an ecological threat by Poland, will be submitted for assessment to an independent commission of experts.

Speaking on tourism and cross-border contacts, the Polish premier said that problems in this sphere should be solved in a way corresponding to the relations between decent neighbours. The Czechoslovak premier assured his Polish partners that steps are being taken for the resumption of local cross-border traffic. The Czechoslovak limitations concerning foreign visitors were caused by economic reasons and they will be lifted again as soon as the economic situation permits it, Marian Calfa said.

Dubcek Meets Mazowiecki*LD2201201890 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] The Polish premier's rich agenda continued in the afternoon when he was received by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, archbishop of Prague and primate of Bohemia. They were in agreement that the former, generally only apparent, friendship between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Poland must be turned into true friendship. At the same time they emphasized that it is necessary to look to the future with optimism.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki was then greeted in front of the palace of the archbishop by Prague citizens and visitors to our capital. In an informal conversation with them, the Polish representative said that Poland and Czechoslovakia should proceed together on the path toward strengthening democracy and economic progress.

The Polish guests then saw the historic monuments of Prague bathed in the winter sunshine. The Polish premier was also received by Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly. They spoke about the development of the situation in their countries and about the international situation, particularly in Europe, and the continuation of the all-European process. They spoke in favor of further mutual cooperation between both countries.

Mazowiecki Interviewed

LD2201201990 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki began his visit in Prague with the laying of a wreath on the grave of Jan Palach, fighter for freedom, democracy and human rights. Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said later that in this act he finds a symbol of the joint entry of our countries on the road of freedom, democracy, and cooperation based on new, substantive bases. Before the plenary meeting of both delegations, a meeting took place between the two premiers on their own. After its end, Premier Mazowiecki said:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] I have come here as the first premier who visits a Czechoslovakia that finds itself on the road to full democracy. I have come from a neighboring and friendly country, with readiness for all matters that are difficult and in dispute between us to be discussed and to create a new quality in our relations. A moment ago, at this plenary meeting of ours, I said that hitherto it has been the case that there was a great sign saying friendship, but in essence there was an alien nature, and that this state of affairs must be radically changed. We will not be making loud signs, for the problem is not in the signs, but in close, good cooperation between two sovereign states and nations that are close to each other. I am convinced that this good cooperation can have significant consequences for the shaping of a new Europe at a time when central and Eastern Europe are going through such great transformations and when we are on the threshold of, I believe, progress toward a Europe-wide coming together.

We are in a situation in which our talks and our decisions must be very much to the point. I think we Poles have learned some of this being to the point from the Czechs, and the Czechs have recently learnt some romanticism from us, and this comes out well in the face of our mutual history, and for Europe as well. [end recording]

Developments Viewed

LD2201220390 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2030 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel received today at the Prague Castle Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Republic.

The guest expressed pleasure over the fact that he can visit Vaclav Havel in a new social situation, and the president of the republic said that he was pleased by the visit of the Polish premier.

They discussed the forthcoming visit by Vaclav Havel to Poland and the speech that he will deliver in the Sejm. They also discussed Czechoslovak-Polish relations, the integration process involving the whole of Europe, and an important role played in it by the countries of central

and eastern Europe. The two statesmen also paid attention to the forthcoming general elections in Czechoslovakia and elections to local representative bodies in Poland.

Vaclav Havel mentioned the political aspects of the Helsinki and European integration processes. Tadeusz Mazowiecki briefed him on the Polish economic program and the problems linked to it, as well as about possibilities to overcome them, about social measures that will help Poles overcome the present difficult period.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki met in the early evening, at the embassy of the Polish Republic in Prague, employees of the embassy and representatives of Poles living in Czechoslovakia. Petr Pithart of the Civic Forum coordination center made a statement regarding the problems of the Polish ethnic minority in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak and Polish delegations, led by Premiers Marian Calfa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, met shortly before 2000 at the Hrzansky Palace for final talks.

Mazowiecki Ends Talks

LD2201222390 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2130 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] During final round of talks at the Hrzansky Palace in Prague, the delegations of the two countries, led by Premiers Marian Calfa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, summed up the results of their talks.

One of the specific results achieved is the decision to analyze the environmental situation in the 15 kilometers-wide border zone. The problem of "small border contact" will be discussed by a working group. Tadeusz Mazowiecki invited Marian Calfa to visit Poland. He returned to Warsaw in the evening.

Mazowiecki Meets Leaders

LD2301012290 Warsaw PAP in English
2207 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 22—Today Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki paid a one-day friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation from his Czechoslovak counterpart Marian Calfa.

The Polish premier was accompanied by Minister of Culture and Art Izabela Cywinska, Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources Bronislaw Kaminski, President of the State Atomic Energy Agency Roman Zelazny, experts and advisers.

The Polish premier was greeted by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

Directly from the airport the motorcade went to the town of Vsetata (25 km off Prague) where Jan Palach was

buried at the local cemetery. Jan Palach, a philosophy student of the Charles University, burnt himself in Prague.

The premiers laid flowers at the tomb and lit candles.

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was the first foreign statesman who officially paid homage to the memory of Jan Palach, a national hero of Czechoslovakia.

Bilateral talks stated at the Hradcany Castle here today directly after the return to the capital. At first, the two premiers held a private meeting. Plenary talks followed. After their conclusion the Polish premier said:

We want a close and good cooperation between two independent states and nations which are close to each other. I am convinced that such good cooperation can be of fundamental significance for creating new Europe, especially when Central and Eastern Europe is going through such great changes and when we are at the threshold—and I believe in this—of an all-European rapprochement.

Federal Premier Marian Calfa stated:

"We exchanged views on the complex situation in Czechoslovak-Polish relations without avoiding problems which are currently controversial, particularly as goes for air pollution and the whole sphere of ecology. Both sides have a good will of finding solutions and a compromise acceptable for all concerned.

"We came to the conclusion that our mutual relations should start shaping on a new legal foundation. We jointly decided that teams of experts would start work on such legal acts, members of both delegations will begin talks on the matter already today."

Premier Marian Calfa treated the Polish delegation to dinner at which both premiers delivered speeches.

The Polish guest was also received by Czechoslovakia's Primate Archbishop of Prague Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek. The talks were mainly held in Polish. Both sides stated that Polish-Czechoslovak friendship should more frequently be reflected in concrete facts and that the truth and knowledge about each other should be its foundation.

Mazowiecki was then received by chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia Alexander Dubcek at the Parliament building. Both statesman briefed each other on the development of the situation in their countries in the context of the situation in all of Europe and the current efforts to unify the old continent. They stressed that Poland and Czechoslovakia, two countries closely cooperating and close to each other, can and should play a big role in this process.

In the afternoon Tadeusz Mazowiecki was received at the Hradcany Castle by President of the Republic Vaclav Havel. The discussions lasted over an hour. Havel is to visit Poland in a few days.

Both statesmen were satisfied with the meeting. "I am happy Mr. President that I can talk with you in a qualitatively new social situation," Mazowiecki said.

The talks, attended by Foreign Affairs Minister Jirzi Dienstbier, focused on the upcoming visit of President Havel to Warsaw and the speech he is to deliver to the Polish Sejm. The sides also discussed the role of Central and East European states in the process of European integration. Premier Mazowiecki referred to the latest statements of Western and Eastern leaders while President Havel spoke about the political aspects of the Helsinki process.

Following their talks, Premier Mazowiecki stated that both Poland and Czechoslovakia were capable of preparing a program convergent with the idea of European integration and that they would closely cooperate in this field.

The premier and his entourage next met at the Polish Embassy with a group of Poles residing in Czechoslovakia.

Later in the day the two delegations once again held plenary talks. The two sides did not manage to fully agree their stance on the construction of the coking plant in Stonava. They reached progress in the issue of compensation for the Odra River pollution. They also agreed upon principles of permanent contacts designed to develop cultural relations.

In the evening, the Polish premier was bidden farewell by the Czechoslovak premier and left for Warsaw. The plane landed at the Warsaw Okęcie Airport at 22:30 hrs.

Ex-Czech Foreign Minister Interviewed

LD0801234890 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2005 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Interview with Bohuslav Chnoupek, former Czechoslovak foreign minister, by Andras Sugar on the "Panorama" program; date and place not given—recorded; Chnoupek in Slovak with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Sugar] Is it true that the reason you had to leave your post in October 1988 was because you supported Gorbachev's perestroika, and because in the matter of human rights, disarmament, you urged a more modern diplomatic stance? Is it true that you did not support the creation of the so-called Berlin-Prague-Bucharest axis against Hungary?

[Chnoupek] As a result of the direct hand-signaling which was in force then, and further, on account of the fact that certain leading political factors of ours at the time did not understand or rejected the policy of perestroika and handled foreign policy in accordance with this, we just missed sliding down to the level of the Romanian standpoint. We might easily have been the last obstacle, but even so, we very nearly were the last in adopting the Vienna closing document.

You also asked about the issue of the shaping of the Berlin-Prague-Bucharest axis. I myself would not dare to explicitly describe it in this way, but at all events it may be noted that, at that period, certain persons had a great deal of sympathy for this kind of political concept and standpoint, which prevailed in the GDR and Romania, still then under Ceausescu, naturally. And so, those who weighed things up in a freer way, let us say the media men and journalists, began to speak about the little entente that took shape here and that appeared like the counter-concept of perestroika. Let us say this openly at last.

[Sugar] Let us look at it more concretely. Hungary started to support the policy of perestroika much more strongly since May 1988, since the party conference. And because of this, the divergences of views were sharpened with the Czechoslovak Communist Party. At that time, how did they try to forge here in your country the Berlin-Prague-Bucharest axis, as against the policy of Moscow, Warsaw, and Budapest?

[Chnoupek] Well, look, I do not want to search behind the wings, because I do not know everything. That which became outwardly manifest, I described in my speech at the central committee session as the honeymoon of our perestroika opponents and the so-called wallpaperers of the GDR, in other words of Honecker and his men. And in my opinion this was evidently a demonstration of sympathy by certain members of our highest party body for the leaders of the German party.

[Sugar] Who do you have in mind?

[Chnoupek] First and foremost, the ideological secretaries, I think.

[Sugar] Bilak, Fojtik?

[Chnoupek] In this case, it is a question of Fojtik, of course, together with Kurt Hager, the GDR ideologist. Afterwards this became practically an organic part of daily politics. Further, I am of the view that they did not hide their sympathy for Romania, either. And here I am thinking of the old Romania, naturally. The increased level of contacts, the reciprocal visits, the statements made at party forums, aktiv sessions, all these things gave the other side the feeling or the impression that at least a certain kind of ideological comradeship had evolved, although this did not manifest itself in an organizational form. And naturally, to a certain extent, this could also be explained by saying that there was an anti-Soviet stance behind it.

Two years ago, I said it openly: In our country, unfortunately, people cannot believe that our highest-ranking politicians will really strive for the realization of perestroika, because everybody knows that in the intimate, narrow circles what they are saying is that in the Soviet Union they are selling off the interests of socialism, denying Marxism-Leninism. And all they were waiting for was that at the next Moscow central committee

session Gorbachev would be defeated and the so-called healthy forces would remove him. Unfortunately, this speech of mine was not made public.

So, I would not say that the little entente actually came into existence. But, in any event, it is undeniably true that your "Panorama" programs were not received in our country with much sympathy. On the contrary, if I am not wrong, there were even protests, both at the diplomatic and at the party level, alike. This is what happened for example in Bratislava too, at the meeting of ideological secretaries where, if I am not mistaken, Comrade [Janos] Berecz took part.

Therefore, I cannot say that it was a question of the little entente being formed, but that in the ideological sense this did occur, that much I can say. That is probable.

[Sugar] So, Ceausescu, Bilak from Czechoslovakia, and Hager from the GDR, the ideological tone-setters of the now-defeated party leaderships, found one another.

[Chnoupek] It was not easy to publicly criticize the perestroika taking place in the Soviet Union. For this reason, they did this in the background, behind the scenes.

[Sugar] The Soviet leaders, for example your colleague Shevardnadze, did they know about these processes? Did they give their opinion?

[Chnoupek] Are you thinking of the processes taking place in our country or our relationships?

[Sugar] I am thinking of the standpoints that evolved within the Czechoslovak party on the side of perestroika and against it.

[Chnoupek] I think they did. I believe they knew these things well. And at this period they always supported those forces which were on the side of the real perestroika.

[Sugar] In 1989, when we in "Panorama" gave news about Dubcek, Havel, other Czechoslovak persons and processes, and about other countries as well, I wonder, did the Slovakian apparatus at that time worry because many people watched our broadcasts?

[Chnoupek] Decidedly, yes. I myself did not see those programs, but I know the reaction to them well, and not only of the apparatus, I might say. There were various structures here which saw in "Panorama" the undermining of our official policy at the time. And when a revolution within the revolution evolved here, then Hungarian television, your program, played an outstanding role in an entirely new domestic political situation, able to arise in our country.

Ukrainian-Ruthenian Initiative Group Formed

AU1901084890 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 16 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "The Ukrainians Are Setting Up a Council"]

[Text] Presov—The initiative group of Ukrainians-Ruthenians has been set up; it is attached to the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Working People [KZUP] in Presov. Juraj Baca, member of the Coordination Committee, explained that the aim is to arouse those people in our country who to date have been qualified as Ukrainians; this particularly applies to the KZUP. The KZUP Central Committee has already held an extraordinary plenary meeting. It produced the decision to convene a national congress of Ukrainians-Ruthenians; the congress will be held on 20 January in Presov. The most important issue is to revive the Ukrainian National Council, which existed in the years 1945-50. The bodies of the Slovak National Council, the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and the Council of the Civic Forum in Prague have already been consulted on the issue and have expressed their approval for the project. Nevertheless, everything will depend on the will of the people themselves.

Commission Spokesman on Investigation of Stepan

LD2201213590 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The parliamentary commission for the supervision of the investigation of the events of 17 November 1989 in Prague at its session today prepared another report on its activity for tomorrow's session of the Federal Assembly.

Vaclav Klement spoke to the spokesman of the commission, Deputy Dr. Lubomir Fanta.

[Begin recording] [Klement] Do you have information on how the investigations of Miroslav Stepan and other accused is progressing?

[Fanta] Yes, this morning we were informed both by representatives of the military and civilian prosecutor's offices. The civilian part of the prosecutor's office is only investigating Miroslav Stepan. The military part is in charge of a total of 10 people under investigation, of whom two are in custody. One of those being investigated has already been charged. It is expected that by 8 February the charges against members of the command staff of the action will be ready, and according to information from officials of the military prosecutor, it is expected that by 15 February the procedural stage of the investigations will be completed.

[Klement] How will the work of the parliamentary commission continue in the coming period and what is it concentrating on above all?

[Fanta] Well as I said before [the investigation of] the activity of the military personnel, the criminal activity of the military personnel is, in effect, in its closing stage. Our task is to supervise the investigation. Therefore, if the process of investigation ends, the commission will also end its work. But this cannot be said so unequivocally as far as investigation of civilians is concerned—that is to be precise at this stage—of Miroslav Stepan, because the possibility of extending it to other people for other acts cannot be ruled out. It is therefore not possible to come to a conclusion concerning civilians in political functions. Here we must take care to uphold the law, to uphold the rights of those being investigated, rights in particular to a defense, upholding the law and so on. [end recording]

Report on Handling of 17 Nov Protests

LD2001111290 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2130 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Members of the independent examining commission, which is investigating the events connected with the brutal action by the security organs on Narodni Avenue in Prague on 17 November, today gave CTK a report on its activity.

The report above sums up the facts ascertained by the commission about the action on 17 November. It says that, beside the facts already made public by the commission of the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council and the press spokesman of the Military Prosecutors' Office, the commission ascertained that the mobile units had been assembled already on the morning of 17 November and after 17 hours had left for the center of Prague. Already at Albertov there were provocateurs among the crowd who had been calling on the participants in the demonstration not to go to Vysehrad but to proceed straight away to Wenceslas Square. At Vysehrad, the assembled people were intentionally misinformed. A false report was spread about the closing of the bridge across the Nusle valley by mobile units.

On Vysehradská Street members of the Public Security Service barred the procession making for Karlovo Square; the procession was directed instead to the embankment. Members of the State Security walked at the head of the procession. At the crossroads at the National Theater they had directed it to Narodni Avenue, where the majority of housing blocks had been blocked—although not by their tenants. Houses had also been blocked also in Mikulanska Street, where almost no cars had been parked despite the fact that that street is usually totally filled with parked cars, including Fridays.

From the report of the independent examining commission, it emerges furthermore that even before the procession had arrived Narodni Avenue had been closed by a cordon composed of members of the mobile regiment of the Public Security Service and young cadets attending the first and second semester of its noncommissioned officer school—that is, personnel who had been members of the National Security Corps between 2 and 8

months. Apart from that regiment, a school mobile detachment also took part in the action on Narodni Avenue.

The first action took place at around 1945. Members of the mobile regiment began to push the demonstrators from the National Theater in the Borsilka and Karolina Svetla Streets. At that time the procession was pressed from two sides. Members of the Special Designation Department, the so-called "Red Berets" had proceeded along the side of the cordon. They entered houses which had in the meantime been opened by their tenants and had driven out those who had sought refuge there. They used karate blows and nightsticks, not differentiating between men, women, or children. The then Deputy Interior Minister, Lorenc, issued the direct order for their deployment.

According to the report, when persons were being arrested—which was done later in a brutal manner—the command lost control of the situation. Members of the security service created such pressure that people fainted. Some hid under parked cars. The head cordon in front of the procession was isolated throughout the action and therefore faced on its own the crowd of people who were pressed from the opposite side. In view of the activity of some provocateurs, who had been trying to influence the demonstrators to push their way through that cordon and who in some instances led the way themselves, the independent examining commission is of the opinion that this was not necessarily a gross strategic error but rather a cruelly inhuman intention. The fact is that if the crowd had moved in that way it would have had endangered the isolated cordon which could have caused serious loss of life among the young members of the security service.

Taking into account that during previous demonstrations state security members acted as provocateurs and called on demonstrators to use violence or alternatively to destroy property, as well as taking into account the testimony of participants in the 17 November demonstration, the independent examining commission is convinced that the aim of the state secret police and political apparatus of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was to manipulate the crowd in order to be able to say and show that the demonstrators committed acts of violence—and thereby justify brutal intervention and politically exploit possible cases of National Security Corps members being wounded or killed.

As the report goes on, the main task of the independent examining commission was and continues to be to register and investigate as many cases of wounded people as possible, and eventually to investigate if anybody was killed during the violence.

The commission members appeal to all witnesses who were present during the intervention in the area in front of the GDR cultural center in Prague on Narodni Avenue and who saw the wounded persons being taken away by national security cars or by buses. They appeal

to all those who witnessed massacres taking place in yards and houses, all those who during the intervention lost their clothes or other things or saw other people losing their clothes.

The members of the independent examining commission will report in more detail on all the facts given in the report.

Roundtable on National Council Reconstruction

*LD2201235690 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and the Civic Forum met today at the National Front Central Committee building at roundtable talks.

They discussed the course regarding the reconstruction of the deputies body of the Czech National Council on the basis of a drafted constitutional law. The participants in the talks agreed on the principles of the reconstruction and on the way of its implementation in the period preceding the coming session of the Czech National Council. They decided that the dismissal of some deputies of the Czech National Council and co-opting others will take place at the same time. The dismissal will be proposed by political parties according to the political affiliation of individual deputies.

Representatives of individual parties also acquainted themselves with a legal measure by the Czech National Council Presidium regarding the reconstruction of the national committees of individual levels, which will be made public tomorrow following deliberations of the Federal Assembly.

Civic Forum on Need To Avoid Totalitarianism

*LD2001001190 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2130 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Statement by Petr Pithart, representative of the coordination center of Civic Forum, "made on Czechoslovak Television," date not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear friends, we always appeal to you when we feel that something is going on in our country which should not be happening.

I myself personally have doubts whether it is right to call what is taking place here today a revolution. I am somewhat frightened by this word. Instead of revolution, I would prefer to say that we are simply freeing ourselves from an indecent and unreasonable situation. We are freeing ourselves from violence, which did not always take the form of imprisonment and persecution—it was unbridled control of people with the help of fear, corruption, and the omnipotent party state.

We have rid our society of the fear of the rule of one party; the fear of Communists. But I fear lest we have to

rid people in time to come of the fear of ourselves. In brief, the activities of civic forums must not resemble in any way the rampaging of the Action Committees of the National Front after February 1948. I do not know whether or not I am hearing the grass growing, but it appears to me that voices of people can be heard more and more frequently who say: It is the same but in a light blue colour.

These voices certainly exaggerate. Perhaps they proceed from atypical instances but, in any case, they serve as a warning which we must not ignore. Yes, all compromised Communists as well as nonparty persons similar to them must leave all responsible posts. All dilettantes who were kept at the top only by their party cards or the favor of those in power, too, must go. How do we do this decently, sensibly, and, at the same time, without being naive about it? How not to paralyze the daily functioning of enterprises, schools, hospitals and national committees?

Draconian methods of solving personnel problems will not only turn against us, against civic forums, but also against the whole of our society. For this reason I am appealing urgently to the civic forums at workplaces and localities to avoid any pseudorevolutionary methods. I know of a civic forum which obtained by pressure the right to sign along with the managing director of the enterprise all economic contracts. I know of civic forums, which are taking over the management of purely operational matters. Our friends from Public Against Violence in Bratislava have confirmed that they have also encountered similar extremes.

Civic forums can exert pressure, indeed strong pressure to bring about changes but only as citizens and not as a party, which delivers ultimata, which recalls all of a sudden all deputies or all headmasters of schools, which sacks managing directors of enterprises or head doctors from hospital only because they are Communists. Is every Communist a really immoral person and is every civic forum activist a pure idealist?

Let us think soberly. The Communist Party, which had 1.7 million members, could not have been only a party of Stalinist and Brezhnevite successors, ruthless consolidators and cynical mafioso or incompetent people to whom the party gave an exceptional opportunity to pursue an unjustifiable career. There were people in the Communist party who had different reasons for their membership. Sometime it was the desire to excel, to assert oneself personally. Others were led by a certain awareness of responsibility toward their working collective, toward their enterprise, town, and sometime in their own way toward the society. By their membership did they share in evil? Did they lack courage? Who may pass judgment only because he was not a party member? Who has the right to pass judgment in accordance with the principle of collective guilt?

Sometimes we think that there are provocateurs behind the ill-judged purges. If only this was the whole truth. I

am afraid that there are in the ranks of civic forums sincere but irrational zealots and that there are also there careerists who sensed an opportunity. There are even people there who were actively involved in the old structures and who today are actively involved in the same way among us.

We do not have in the coordination center of Civic Forum in Bohemia and Moravia secretaries who would go to a district or an enterprise to sort things out. We are neither able nor willing to do this. We are not a party that gives orders and sorts things out, as it used to be said, among the cadres. We are a movement of democratically involved nonparty members. We can only persuade, point at good and bad examples.

With your help, we would like to set an example in putting to shame those who, in the name of Civic Forum, take power into their own hands and behave as the Czechoslovak Communist party secretaries did for 40 years. Let the civic forums at the local level and at workplaces gradually, and I stress gradually, edge out those who supported the old order, but above all let them decide on the way new people are to be found for the future to manage enterprises and institutions. Open competition appears to be a very exemplary method here. Before this happens, let them revive the trade union organizations at workplaces, let them be involved in making changes in the ranks of the working people where that is necessary. However, let them avoid the role of omnipotent judges who, where the rules of the game do not exist, decide which side should gain the upper hand and when.

What is the danger if this is not done? The collapse of enterprises and a decline in production. There is a danger that the operation of institutions we all need in our everyday lives will be repudiated.

I ask you, I beg you, let us complete as soon as possible the dismantling of everything old, and let us begin to build—build the state, an independent civic society, a prospering economy, in short a civilized European society capable of managing its own affairs with maturity.

A situation where two or more civic forums operate at a workplace, with each one even more radical than the other, is a situation that puts us in an unusually embarrassing light. Yes, there are forums that have been taken over by turncoat representatives of the old totalitarian system, and they cannot be left in peace. Here too, however, let us behave as citizens and not as old apparatchiks. Let us invite everyone to meetings, let us organize gatherings and even demonstrations in factory yards and town squares, but let us have the citizens behind us, and not only the Civic Forum firm, for I am afraid that anyone can muster up one of those these days.

Let us act sensibly and decently, without demagoguery, but at the same time energetically and not naively.

Our enemies have no better opportunity today of notching up points against us than exploiting our mistakes, our haste, our partiality, and the transparent motives of those who see Civic Forum primarily as a way of getting ahead. No one can give you a helping hand in all this—no one from Prague, Brno, or Bratislava will put things right for you, only you yourselves can do that.

There is only one thing we should be afraid of today, and that is of ungratefully adopting the methods of those against whom we all rose up. Civic Forum is not here to settle scores with the Communists. It is here to put an end to the communists' practices. If you like, you can continue to call what is happening here a revolution. That, after all, is a matter of taste. Whatever we do, however, let us do it decently—decently and sensibly.

Our success in the elections will depend not on how much influence or power we win, but above all on the way we win it. We are a forum—that word means square. Behind us there must be people, many people who trust us, not people who are afraid of us or who are being ingratiating.

We are a Civic Forum, so let us act as citizens, and not as apparatchiks, cadre cronies, or secret police.

Perhaps I can hear the grass growing. If something like that is, indeed, growing, it is not grass, it is weeds—aggressive weeds. It is, unfortunately, a variety of something that has been allowed to grow wild throughout this country—totalitarianism—and we must resist totalitarianism, both when it confronts us, and also when—as I have said several times—there is a risk of it growing from within us.

Slovak Official Discusses Policy Statement

*LD1812163989 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1130 GMT 18 Dec 89*

[Text] The government of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] is discussing in Bratislava today its policy statement to be put forward at a tomorrow's meeting of the Slovak National Council. Editor Zoltan Liptak asked Vojtech Krestanko, the government's press secretary, for an interview:

[Begin recording] [Liptak] What are the outlines of this policy statement?

[Krestanko] It is mainly about the preparation of elections and legislative guarantees. It also covers securing a new quality of life. This means a social program, about man, his education, his social guarantees and also, naturally about the broad spiritual sphere. The government is aware that in order to implement these aims, appropriate resources must be created, in particular in the economy, by the implementation of a radical economic reform. The government is not ignoring its own methods of work, mainly its cooperation with the Slovak National

Council, the way individual groups of questions are to be discussed during the flow of information to the public [as heard].

[Liptak] The government can, however, work only when it is trusted.

[Krestanko] We have received today rather topical information from the Public Opinion Institute at the Slovak Statistical Office. Their opinion poll has revealed—using 151 respondents—that 53 percent of the Slovak population have confidence in the new government, 23 have partial confidence, 3 percent have no confidence, and 21 percent do not want to express themselves because they still have not had the chance to evaluate its activity.

[Liptak] We will learn about the policy statement tomorrow and then we might hear about the results of further opinion polls. Thank you. [end recording]

West Slovak Official Resigns Position

*AU1812193789 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 3*

["vd"- signed report]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—At the session of the West Slovak Regional National Committee [ZSKNV] in Bratislava yesterday [12 December], it was announced that Jaromir Valent has resigned in writing from the post of chairman of the Regional National Committee, as member of the council, and from the mandate of deputy of the Regional National Committee. [passage omitted] Of the two nominated candidates—Michal Borgula (Czechoslovak Communist Party) and Ivan Hudec (Democratic Party)—neither received in a secret ballot the required more-than-50-percent of the votes of all deputies of the ZSKNV and thus a chairman of the ZSKNV was not elected. A ZSKNV plenary session will be convened soon. ZSKNV Deputy Chairman Michal Borgula was entrusted the function of the ZSKNV chairman until the next session.

New Slovak Officials Inaugurated 13 Dec

*LD1412101689 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Dec 89*

[Text] New government members of the Slovak Socialist Republic were inaugurated today.

First Deputy Premier Jozef Markus inducted Michal Kovac, minister of finance, prices and wages, and Jan Ducky, minister of industry, into their offices.

First Deputy Premier Vladimir Lexa, chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, inducted Ivan Steis into the office of minister of construction and building industry, Ivan Vesely into the office of ministry of forestry and water management and wood processing industry, and Maria Kolarikova, into the temporary position of chairman of the People's Control Committee.

Ladislav Kovac, minister of education, youth and physical education, and Ladislav Chudik, minister of culture, were inducted in office by Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondrus.

Deputy Premier Alexander Varga inducted into office Matej Rolko, minister of trade and tourism, and Miroslav Belansky, minister of agriculture and food.

Further on Social Democratic Party Plans

AU1812200789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 9 Dec 89 p 4

["is"-signed report: "Social Democrats: Give Us Back Our Property"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent) — Gaining several tens of thousands of members, about 20 percent of them young, and the publication of PRAVO LIDU [People's Right], first irregularly and eventually as a daily—these are the basic pieces of information provided by members of the preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party at a news conference in Prague on Friday [8 December].

Slavomir Klaban, chairman of the committee, provided the names of some 30 people who have become involved in the work of the preparatory committee of the restored Social Democratic Party. Bretislav Nedbalek, secretary of the preparatory committee; Premysl Janyr, honorary chairman of the Club of Czechs and Slovaks from Vienna; and Miroslav Brabec, another member of the committee, added that there exist several preparatory committees in cities in the Czech Socialist Republic as well as in Bratislava.

In their replies to journalists' questions, representatives of the preparatory committee noted, inter alia, that they will demand the return of the party's property [from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, with which it was merged in 1948]. In the event of identical viewpoints, the party will cooperate with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] but also with other parties. Regarding the activity of political parties at places of work, members of the committee are of the opinion that "politics do not belong to places of work." Should the CPCZ retain its organizations, however, the Social Democratic Party will have no other option but to establish them as well.

Jiri Pelikan on Recent Developments

LD1812202589 Prague CTK in English
1532 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—Director of the newly set up East-West Institute based in Rome Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak television, told CTK here today that he evaluates very positively the development of the past four weeks in Czechoslovakia.

In fact the changes being now implemented are those for which people have striven in the past twenty years, i.e.

the rehabilitation of the Prague Spring, denunciation of the military intervention of the August of 1968, resignation of the discredited politicians, introduction of the real freedom of speech and abolition of the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Jiri Pelikan stressed. He added that he thinks that by this a path towards pluralistic democracy has been opened although the path towards institutionalization of this democracy, despite free elections and new parliament, will be a long one. Jiri Pelikan stated that he views it as Czechoslovakia's return to Europe where it belongs both by its tradition and geographical position but from which it had been isolated for a long time.

He went on to say that due to Czechoslovakia's isolation from Western Europe he has also met with many illusions concerning e.g. an unlimited economic assistance from the West. He said that although help can be counted on it will not be so high as required by the country's economy since the West has its obligations to Poland, Hungary, the GDR, the Soviet Union and the Third World countries. It will be necessary that Czechoslovak people understand that they must rely primarily on their own force, Pelikan stressed.

Obviously the transition to mixed economy will be a lengthy and painful process since it will bring about many measures which will touch some strata of the population, Jiri Pelikan continued, pointing out that Czechoslovak society will need really independent trade unions and such political parties which will be able to defend the interests of socially weaker strata. He said that he sees in this a big opportunity for modern left-wing parties.

Responding a question to what extent the changes in Czechoslovakia can influence the development in Europe he stated that changes being now made in Czechoslovakia and other East European countries and Mikhail Gorbachev's new policy offer a possibility for overcoming the division of Europe into two blocks and create prerequisites for the abolition of the military groupings in the future with which a possibility for a new settlement of relations in Europe is connected. The opening of borders and signing of an agreement on disarmament in conventional and strategic arms is also a prerequisite for this.

Asked about his opinion on possible Czechoslovakia's neutrality Jiri Pelikan said that it can be a distant objective but to suggest this question today would be premature.

Officials on New Financial Laws

LD1812204689 Prague CTK in English
1702 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—Three new laws which will come into effect on January 1, 1990 to amend the financial system in Czechoslovakia were dealt with at a news conference here today.

Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of Finance Stanislav Sourek said i.a. [inter alia] that the newly shaped law on payments to the state budget makes relations between enterprises and the state budget objective and introduces flat rates. It abolishes the system of redistribution of financial sources among producers. Most of the enterprises will pay to the state budget next year about 65 per cent of their profits (so far it was up to 90 per cent). In the future flat rates should be introduced in all branches of Czechoslovakia's national economy as taxes must become the fundamental instrument of the state for regulating the economic life of society.

Journalists were also informed of the foreign exchange law which is to be valid for a transitional period. It creates conditions for an effective entry of Czechoslovakia into world economy, and reduces to minimum limitations concerning circulation of foreign exchange as regards both individuals and enterprises and organizations.

The law on banks and saving banks creates conditions for the transition to credit service of banks on commercial basis and make them more independent.

The financial experts further said that, in accord with the practice of the West European countries, Czechoslovakia will prepare introduction of a value-added tax (VAT). The fruition of this step, however, cannot be expected in the nearest future. Also imposition of taxes on individual economic activities will require a longer time for preparation due to the non-existence of tax control and administration. Asked about a creation of free prices the experts stated that transition from a tough regulation towards deregulation is conditioned by competition which, however, has not existed in Czechoslovakia so far. As regards emissions of securities the experts said that as early as in 1990 banks can issue obligations but prerequisites for a shares market have not yet been created.

In connection with the foreign exchange law, journalists were interested in tourism. Commenting on this issue,

the experts of the Federal Ministry of Finance pointed out that in 1990 Czechoslovak banks will proceed from hard currency allowances to a new system of providing hard currency. All means from active tourism will be designed for tourism, they added, emphasizing that originally gradual development in the next three years in this respect was taken into consideration but Austria has changed this consideration by its act of good will, i.e. the introduction of visa-free travels for Czechoslovak people.

The ministry representatives also announced preparations of changes in the obligatory minimum exchange of hard currency for foreign tourists coming to Czechoslovakia which is another step towards the development of tourism.

Komarek's Energy Concept Criticized

AU2112155989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 December on page 3 publishes in its "Discussion Tribune" column a 500-word article by Engineer Jan Mrkos, director of the Nuclear Research Institute at Rez near Prague, and Engineer Dusan Jakes, member of the Civic Forum group in the Rez institute, entitled "Yes To Nuclear Power Stations, But to Safe Ones." The article calls attention to "a certain danger" inherent in Valtr Komarek's energy concept, which is based on the burning of natural gas, in view of the price fluctuations of this raw material. The authors point out that the price of uranium, on the other hand, is very low and stable in the long term and that, moreover, Czechoslovakia's supplier of nuclear fuel, the USSR, has a passive trade balance with the CSSR. They therefore suggest that, instead of "taking the risk of price instability," Czechoslovakia should focus on the use of nuclear power as an "ecologically clean" source of both electricity and heat. They express their conviction that Czechoslovak engineers and experts are capable of ensuring a safe and reliable operation of nuclear power stations.

Defense Minister Denies BILD Coup Report*LD2201133790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1308 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Defense Minister Theodor Hoffman told ADN that not a single word is true of a report published by BILD today that claims that "elite troops of the state security service and parts of the National People's Army (NVA)" are apparently preparing a coup, to seize power in the GDR. Joint exercises by state security and NVA have never taken place and could never take place now, of all times. There is no cooperation now.

The area of the "Administration 2000" of the former Ministry for State Security, that is, the former protection organ for the control of the Armed Forces, has been disbanded. [passage omitted]

Coup Report Supported*AU2301102690 Hamburg BILD in German 23 Jan 90 pp 1, 4*

[Unattributed report: "Stasi Coup—This Is the Truth, Mr Modrow!"]

[Text] The report published in several editions of BILD yesterday [22 January] that members of the Stasi state security service were preparing a coup in the GDR fell like a bombshell. GDR Prime Minister Modrow from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] rejected the BILD report at the roundtable as a "provocation" and called for a corresponding assessment by the GDR's opposition democrats. There was talk of a "horror story." However, at midday yesterday, the Germany policy spokesman of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union Bundestag group, Eduard Lintner, stated that he, too, had information on a planned coup by the military and Stasi. This is the truth, Mr Modrow! "The medium command level of the Stasi is organizing itself—to be ready to strike at the right moment." With these words, a former Stasi officer confirmed yesterday's BILD report.

After consultations with GDR Defense Minister Hoffmann and Interior Minister Ahrendt, Modrow stated yesterday: "The weapons are in the store. No exercises were held anywhere." Lintner relied on information from the population and from opposition circles. Lintner knows about conspiratorial meetings and threats by Stasi agents, who stated that they know how to defend themselves. "In addition, Stasi employees openly admitted that they had weapons from two different offices, but had only returned one," Lintner pointed out.

A former Stasi officer told BILD: "They are hoping for general chaos leading to a situation in which the GDR becomes ungovernable—this would provide the Stasi with the opportunity to seize power." How does Prime Minister Modrow explain the strange house-to-house fighting exercises by a tank training unit in Eggesin (Neubrandenburg) last week? According to information

provided by the population, parachutists of the National People's Army (NVA) also participated. These elite troops have always had a reputation as being very loyal to the SED.

According to information received by BILD, the Ninth Tank Regiment in Eggesin should be made ready for action in accordance with a three-stage alert plan. A soldier from the regiment who was familiar with all orders told opposition representatives: "I am terribly frightened."

Former Stasi officers have allegedly been transferred to "Administration Department 2000." This NVA department is the central military secret service that has always included a large number of Stasi members.

Among the bulky refuse on the premises of a former Stasi building, citizens recently found 100 crates for 10 AK-47 submachine guns each. However, all the crates were empty. There was no sign of the weapons.

The opposition groups stressed at the roundtable yesterday that they had had no knowledge of an planned violent coup. However, a dangerous situation has arisen in the GDR, Rolf Henrich (New Forum) stated. "The structures of Stasi have not been destroyed, as we found out much to our dismay..."

Stasi Threats Described*AU2301150590 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 23 Jan 90 p 4*

[Tina Baeumlisberger report: "Jena Academics Receive Massive Threats. 'Stasi Continues To Work Underground'"]

[Text] Jena—The era of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and of the frightful State Security Service "is far from being over." Opposition forces in Jena of every creed and kind share this view in the current situation. They have every reason to do so. After all, critics of the system have been massively threatened through anonymous letters and telephone calls for some time in the traditionally liberal-minded Thuringian city. The New Forum group of Jena suspects that the Stasi Security Policy is behind these actions. By "hitting below the belt," it tries to intimidate people who struggle for a more democratic GDR.

A case in point is Dietfried Jorke, director of the hospital for internal medicine of Jena University. The member of the Christian Democratic Union of the GDR is the co-sponsor of the Second Wartburg Festival, and spokesman of the "Action Group for Democratic Renewal of the Universities." Jorke told DIE WELT that his activities in this respect have "upset certain people." After all, the energetic physician has achieved the election of new university bodies and of a new rector. Jorke has been exposed to blackmail for a few weeks: "If you do not stop your political activities you will not only lose your head but also your arms and legs," a massive written threat read. Another one stated: "One must fight

against voles, and if this does not yield the expected results, one must kill them.... Communist, Christian pig, now it is your turn, now we will get you."

The medical expert is worn out, not only through anonymous letters. Libelous pamphlets, which have been put up in public places and distributed by mail, are also intended to create an atmosphere that is against him. "This is intended to damage my reputation." The authors of these letters do not even spare his family. Jorke's wife also received a warning letter: If her husband will not listen to reason, at least she should bring him back to reason. "Otherwise something terrible will happen to you."

Threatening letters that carry the names of oppositional forces as the sender, are particularly mean. "This is deliberately intended to confuse people and to split the opposition," Jorke said with indignation. To play off the new groupings and parties against each other, it is made to appear that they denounce one another. The doctor emphasized that he was by no means the only person that was threatened with being mutilated or murdered.

The New Forum, which is a pure citizens' movement in Jena, has confirmed that it received threatening letters and calls. Those messages announced that "the times will change and it will be once more the turn of the SED." The perfect and systematic way in which such actions were organized and carried out remind the people of Jena of familiar methods that were practiced during many years. "We start from the assumption that the Stasi continues to work in the underground," one of the active academics said. He did not want to have his name mentioned, because fear continues to be deeply rooted.

The New Forum suspects that the Stasi might launch armed actions. It believes that there is a potential danger that the detested secret service might strike again. The citizens' movement believes that the "so-called" dissolution of the National Security Office took place "only on paper." Only if the Stasi members were "released from their duties" could the "honest elements" be separated from the "subversive ones." Only then would the former secret service people be able to make public apologies and be "rehabilitated."

For the time being, the threatening letters were passed on to the state prosecutor. Nevertheless, the critics of the system are skeptical and fear that no steps will be taken against these threats. They are backed up by Bonn: The Freedom and Science League, the German University Association, and the RCDS [Ring of Christian Democratic Students] have condemned the attempts of blackmail and called on FRG politicians to closely link the halting of the threats against the lives to the further cooperation with the GDR Government."

Pro-Unity, Anti-SED Rallies Held

LD2201210390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1938 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Over 200,000 GDR citizens took part in the by-now- traditional Monday demonstrations in many towns. The largest number of participants was again registered on the streets of Leipzig, where over 100,000 called for German unity and the dissolution of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. Numerous parties and movements appealed to the voters, and the 'Republicans' were in evidence again with posters and leaflets.

In Dresden, where several tens of thousands demonstrated, almost the only flags to be seen were black, red and gold flags without an emblem. Anti-SED-PDS slogans predominated there, too. In Cottbus, the demonstrators were chiefly concerned, apart from German unity and the dissolution of the SED-PDS, with environmental protection. There were also demonstrations in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Schwerin, Suhl, Potsdam, Halle, and Berlin, where complete failure of the public address system forced the organizers to abandon the first 'Berlin Monday Demo' of the year. According to available reports, all the events occurred peacefully and without any incidents worth mentioning.

New Forum Rally in Leipzig

LD2201174790 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1709 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—"Down with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]" and "Germany one fatherland" were the dominant slogans on banners and in chants at the third Leipzig Monday demonstration this year. For the first time this year, there was another planned rally on the Karl-Marx-Platz, organized by the New Forum. More than 100,000 demonstrators gathered between the Opera House and the Gewandhaus after 1800. The rally and the march around the Leipzig Ring afterward was covered by numerous foreign radio and television stations.

Protest in Magdeburg

LD2201234290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2026 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Magdeburg (ADN)—Tens of thousands of people came together in the center of Magdeburg tonight for a demonstration in favor of the dissolution of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. After a prayer for social renewal in the GDR, the procession began. It was led by a banner saying: "Voting PDS means packing your suitcase." The Cathedral Advisory Group [Beratergruppe Dom] had requested before the demonstration that demonstrators should not go to certain party buildings. No one wanted radical groups to start breaking windows again. [passage omitted]

Modrow Speech to Roundtable 22 Jan*LD2201123490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1021 GMT 22 Jan 90*

["Text" of Premier Hans Modrow's address to the roundtable meeting in Berlin on 22 January]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ladies and gentlemen,

As you may already have learned from the media, preliminary proceedings were instituted by a prosecutor at the weekend against a member of my government, Mrs. Uta Nickel, minister of finance and prices. She is accused, in her former capacity in Leipzig area, of having committed acts of embezzlement to the disadvantage of socialist property by giving her signature for payments from the Treasury, which she should have refused. She is not accused of personal gain. Mrs. Nickel resolutely denies the allegations. The GDR prosecutor general has informed me about the proceedings instituted by the competent area prosecutor. Mrs. Nickel has since handed in her resignation, which I have accepted. I shall inform the president of the People's Chamber officially today. The commitment to the rule of law that I have accepted, together with my office, demands this action. Further announcements and decisions in this matter are, of course, a matter for the justice authorities.

Ladies and gentlemen. Last week I emphasized the import the government attaches to the roundtable for the process of democratic renewal. I also emphasized that my government needs constructive cooperation with the roundtable in order to obtain advice, to examine its own decisions with the help of criticism, and to be able to prepare important government work by consensus. At the same time, I would like to stress: In my work as premier, I consider myself exclusively responsible to the people and not to a party. I therefore need advice and—that is my wish—the support of all the parties, and not just of one party. To reiterate this clearly: In my responsibility toward the people, I do not feel bound to one party, despite being a member of a party. This also applies to the other members of my party in the government. I am under the impression that last Monday's favorable start of the discussion is having a favorable effect on the political climate in the GDR, both through the parties and groups represented here, and through the broad public opinion. This strengthens me in my intention to continue cooperation with you at such a new qualitative level. The presence of members and other government representatives who give you information and detailed explanations, and who in turn expect constructive advice from you, underlines this good intention.

A week ago—as you all know—a situation arose in the Normannen Street, Lichtenberg in the afternoon that indicated just how vulnerable the internal peace is, how quickly a political demonstration can turn into acts of violence, of vandalism. However, those troubled persons [die unruhigen] in the country who unleashed and continue to support the democratic revolution do not want

unrest in the country that is directed against justice and public order, against property and, finally, against individuals. If it is our common concern to preserve level-headedness to ensure that the GDR reaches 6 May 1990 in one piece, then the possible consequences of all political actions should be carefully considered.

Please, will you all help to ensure that the events of Lichtenberg do not repeat themselves. This would only spread anxiety and make more people leave the GDR; it would also cause great foreign political damage because internationally there is very sensitive reaction to such occurrences in the GDR.

I have to reject very decisively as a provocation a report in today's BILD newspaper that says: "Coups—the Stasi is giving out weapons. Elite troops of the state security service and units of the National Peoples Army (NVA) are apparently preparing for a coup, a takeover in the GDR." As BILD learned from opposition groups from the GDR, since last Friday a central alarm plan has been set in motion. Stasi troops have been armed and are on exercises together with NVA units and are preparing for a civil war. In another place, it says that opposition groups are preparing a general strike for this coming Wednesday. And thus, in a manner of speaking, the Stasi and the NVA would be prepared to exercise power.

Last night I consulted the minister for national defense and minister for internal affairs to examine the situation. The weapons are in store, and there have been no exercises anywhere. So I also assume that there are no preparations for a general strike by the opposition forces. We ought to state this today jointly in all clarity. Early this morning I informed Mr Seitzers [FRG minister of the chancellor] about my examinations, and I asked that the federal chancellor hear the information about this state of my examinations. I would like to ask for the opposition groups that, I assume, have been libeled in the same way, to state this today at this table in the same way.

In this connection, I also turn with a request to the trade unionists and their trade unions. In this situation, a strike is no good for anyone and damages everyone. This is even true of an apparently small token strike, which can lead to children not getting any milk, or there is a loss of production that affects many areas of industry in a chain reaction, or in another place there are no work possibilities for the workers.

The workers, the peasants, the employees—yes, all people who work honestly—have to struggle with difficulties. And this is just as true for the pensioners. Life in the GDR has certainly not become easier during the past few months. We all need strength to overcome difficulties. Therefore, a strike should not be the first means of solving problems; if at all, then only the very, very last. It is better if ways to solve problems are raised and negotiated in the enterprises by the trade unions. When I assumed office as premier of this country, I already said one thing clearly—that we have no possibilities for

immediate, extensive wages measures. Everyone must understand that every step in this direction will, eventually, get the price spiral moving. There are direct and immediate connections here.

I must refer to the fact that this week a thorough analysis of the economic situation of the country will be presented to the roundtable and the People's Chamber. In it, it can be seen that as part of the earlier social policy the citizen of the GDR, in addition to his immediate income, was guaranteed about 40 percent of his social income through subsidies and other measures from these sources. It is not possible to carry out changes in this area directly and immediately. Cautiousness and responsibility are needed at every stage.

When the government points out unpleasant facts, it is often claimed that it wants to paint the picture of a bogeyman. Well, nowadays there are quite a few making flippant, no, even irresponsible, assertions. I must point out facts and sound an urgent warning—the warning against extremism. By this I mean left-wing extremism and anarchism, as well as right-wing extremism. The fact is the so-called Republikaner announced at their recent party congress that they intend to play a bigger role in the GDR election campaign, both materially, namely with propaganda material as already distributed in Leipzig and elsewhere, as well as financially and personally. They have extended the scope of their revised party program to the GDR, and Federal Chancellor Kohl has demanded that the REPs' [as received] admission to the GDR be supported. The implications must be taken very seriously. No one should offer grist to the mill of these people by either intentionally or unintentionally creating additional domestic conflicts. GDR citizens have a right to work in peace and quiet, and to relax after work. That is the least they can rightly demand.

Externally, to the East and West, the government is trying to remain a predictable partner. For this I need, not least, the support of the roundtable. The work to be done is also having a direct effect beyond the GDR. The further planned working meeting with Federal Chancellor Kohl will take place in Bonn in mid-February. Prior to that I will no doubt have the opportunity to speak with Mr. Kohl on the occasion of the annual meeting of the world economic forum in Switzerland. Already agreed upon is a meeting there with the state president of Mexico. For the Bonn meeting I have offered the participation of a group of the new parties represented at the roundtable, and I am willing to inform you in good time about the working program. I would ask that the roundtable give me the names by this weekend of those to be included in the group. Foreign Minister Fischer is to comment separately on the Bonn meeting.

I wish to take this opportunity to inform you, and thus the public, about two important items of foreign and foreign trade policy. The first item: The first meeting of the GDR-FRG economics commission, headed by Ministers Beil and Haussmann, is to take place tomorrow. I

have authorized the foreign trade minister to discuss the utilization of ERP [European Recovery Program] funds for setting up small and medium-sized private enterprises in the GDR, and for the modernization and expansion of similar existing enterprises. The government considers the speedy realization of this to be important in order to improve the range of goods offered on the domestic market, and to improve services. Efforts are also under way to ensure that greater quantities of goods are available on the domestic market, and I hope the FRG will be accommodating also in this respect.

The second item: The successful course of the process of democratization in the GDR must go hand in hand with the opening up to West Europe and a rapprochement with its integration organizations. It is for this reason that the GDR Government signaled already on 17 November of last year, in a message to the heads of state and government of the EC states, its willingness for comprehensive cooperation with the EC.

This was accepted positively, and obviously accelerated the process of forming an opinion in the EC about GDR-EC relations. So the EC stated its readiness in December to negotiate on a trade and cooperation agreement with the GDR without delay. The GDR will do everything to conclude these negotiations speedily. A further rapprochement to the EC results in impetus and at the same time significant challenges for our national economy. The democratization and the newly won understanding of human rights in our country also puts the EC position in a new light. We are interested in cooperating with and in this, the oldest West European institution. Guest status, also membership, is conceivable, for example. That is all on foreign policy.

As for the necessary and apparently generally desired concrete cooperation from the roundtable and the government, then I already expressed my main matters of concern last Monday [15 January]. I remind you of this, and repeat in particular the proposal I made to participate in the work of the government. I ask all those new parties represented at the roundtable to give me the names of people who are prepared to join the government as members of the Council of Ministers in order to also take up their work in the government of the grand coalition that is presently at work. So that I can conduct coalition talks by the end of this week, I ask that we agree on the necessary working steps immediately in the next few days. The revolutionary restructuring is entering a new stage. The reappraisal of the past will continue to be an indisputable element of democratic activities.

However, it is now decisive that we see that there is stability in the town and in the country through responsible work. During these days and weeks, parties and groups at the roundtable, parliament, and government will all be tested by what we do to see that good work can be done in the economy and that a political atmosphere is achieved in which free, secret, and equal elections can be conducted in peace. The government, with its possibilities, will see to this. So that it is able to act completely

in this sense, it needs the support of all the parties and political groups represented here.

We are standing on the threshold of a new stage of the far-reaching radical change taking place in our country. No one tomorrow will still be able to refer to the guilty of yesterday before our people. Everyone must be responsible today for this day and for the next days. Tomorrow everyone will be asked what he did in this revolutionary time of transition to make the laboriousness of the people's existence easier for them and to give them hope. What did you do to encourage everyone to stay in the country where they are so urgently needed? Which of us was also prepared to carry the burden of the other.

We need a cooperation that concentrates on resolving the problems that face us up to the time of the elections. The agreement achieved for this at the roundtable, which is aimed at the social integration of the former workers of the Office for National Security, is to be welcomed. A government capable of acting, about which the roundtable spoke in favor, must see the main focus of its work as being in the economy. This sphere is decisive for the whole of life in the GDR. Therefore, as I said in my urgent request, the roundtable should also join in cooperation with the government here in the preparation of important decisions.

This applies, for instance, to monetary policy—for millions of citizens a most important matter, as well as fiscal policy, but also the further procedure concerning the subsidy issue. Decisions are necessary and urgent here. Nevertheless, they must be considered most carefully and must not be taken precipitately.

It is urgent to complete the draft for the election law so it can be discussed publicly. It is not the government's fault that this draft is still outstanding and has not yet been made public. In this connection, the many proposals should be considered that aim also at the election of the people's representative bodies in all towns and cities on 6 May. There are no legalistic difficulties to prevent this. The deputies in this area urgently require the legitimation offered by free elections for their important work at the local level.

We must proceed from the premise that stability in the country can be secured and guaranteed only when mayors and people's representative bodies can carry out their work. Only in this way will every citizen have the chance and opportunity to discuss and clarify directly with the state his questions, his concerns. Only in that way will there be a life in towns and villages that proceeds calmly and orderly, where church attendance on Sundays is nothing out of the ordinary.

Two further bills that the Presidium of the People's Chamber will present to you are still outstanding—the bills for the judges law and for the law to amend the Penal Code. I would furthermore remind you that the decree about citizens' committees was presented to you last December. In the interest of a thorough as well as

speedy treatment of bills, the state secretary at the Justice Ministry is to make a proposal to you.

I have merely outlined a few important examples of the requirements that I see for cooperation with the specialist bodies of the roundtable. In this respect, the government is by no means hesitant, as has been claimed on occasion. Faced with the wealth of decisions that had to be made and were made in such a short period of time, my government need fear no international comparison in this area.

Overall, the members of the Council of Ministers and I are interested in cooperation for the benefit of the country. The roundtable can help the government in its work considerably by countering attempts to wear down the government. Not the least, it is extremely important for internal stability, for security and order that our state apparatus functions from the big cities down to the small towns and villages. Evidence of the decline of state functions that result in citizens' interests being no longer looked after sufficiently should be resolutely and collectively countered. The citizens want security and normal conditions in their everyday life. It is also on this justified demand that they measure the democratic changes for which we are all working. I would therefore ask all the political forces represented at the roundtable to support, together with the government, the police. It does an essential job and deserves respect, recognition and even encouragement for that.

I would ask you, together with the government, to do your best for the citizens of the GDR. This includes factual debate. Above all, the developing constructive cooperation should have its roots in a common responsibility, in responsibility to the people, which everyone who claims and shoulders political responsibility must serve. Thank you for your attention.

Gysi, Opposition Leader Schnur at Roundtable

*LD2201131190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1034 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the central GDR roundtable in Berlin today, Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], reaffirmed his party's interest in broad support of the renewal and democratization process in the GDR. He referred to a statement on this matter that is being distributed as information to the roundtable. Gregor Gysi called on those participants in the roundtable not hitherto represented in the government coalition to make use of the offer from the SED-PDS to accept some of their ministerial posts and thus take on part of the government responsibility. He also spoke in favor of agreement on the nomination of a non-party figure for the office of chairman of the Council of State.

On behalf of the Democratic Awakening Party, its chairman, Wolfgang Schnur, came out decisively against rumors regarding an attempted coup by members of the former state security authorities or units of the National

People's Army in the GDR. His party supports everything that serves peace in the society of the GDR. Nonviolence must be the priority above everything else.

Wolfgang Schnur criticized the government for not adopting a proposal made by Democratic Awakening in December to form a coalition of reason. His party made a proposal to expand the practical and political scope of competence of the roundtable. Schnur demanded that the government make a clear statement on electoral fraud during the local elections on 7 May 1989 because only in this way can confidence in the responsible work of the government be gained.

Legislative Program

LD2201145790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1212 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Wittenbeck, state secretary at the Ministry of Justice, briefed the roundtable on Monday about an extensive legislative government program. Four sections will deal with changes to the Constitution; the electoral law; party, association, assembly laws and a law for amending the Penal Code; changes to the administrative law; laws for carrying out economic reform; and other matters. The objective is to advance the process of renewal in the GDR and make it irreversible.

The state secretary called for the broad inclusion of the roundtable in working out the laws. Therefore, bills, once accepted by the Council of Ministers, will be sent simultaneously to the Presidium of the People's Chamber and all the roundtable representatives. The speaker pointed to the dangerous trends of negating existing legislation. Here, too, the joint action of government and opposition is required.

Electoral Law Discussed

LD2201205790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2020 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR roundtable devoted the third part of its ninth session in Berlin on Monday to a number of proposals before dealing in detail with the draft of a new electoral law. [passage omitted]

The body agreed on the proposal to introduce a proportional electoral system with fixed lists, with the unification of lists being permissible. [passage omitted]

The draft document on the future electoral law is to be submitted to the current People's Chamber. Representatives of the relevant committee of the roundtable will be present at the discussion in the People's Chamber.

The body adopted by a large majority the demand from the Peace and Human Rights Initiative that the People's Chamber postpone the second reading of the law on the civilian alternative to military service.

The roundtable will continue its work on Monday, 29 January. On the same day, the People's Chamber of the GDR will also be in session.

Krenz, Herger Appear at Roundtable Session

LD2201132990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1314 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, former chairman of the GDR Council of State and Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary, and Wolfgang Herger, former department head in the SED Central Committee, appeared this afternoon at the ninth session of the roundtable. Thus they complied with the demand set by the body on 18 January that they, as the SED leaders formerly responsible for security issues, give information about the interconnections between the SED and the state security service.

Krenz, Herger Apologize

LD2201143390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1407 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former State Council Chairman and SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] General Secretary Egon Krenz and former departmental head in the SED Central Committee Wolfgang Herger today issued a joint statement during the roundtable. The statement contained an apology for the situation that has arisen to all those "who suffered under the old security doctrine." Krenz pointed to a decision taken in 1960, according to which the state apparatus had to carry out the decisions of the SED leadership. In his words, the former ministry for state security had stood outside any kind of control by the state or the government.

Krenz on Elections

LD2201150590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1416 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the view of former GDR State Council Chairman and SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] General Secretary Egon Krenz, there have never been free elections in the GDR in the past 40 years. "People just folded pieces of paper," he said today at the roundtable. He had come to this conclusion in the past 2 months. When questioned about the local elections on 7 May 1989, Krenz stated that in a formal sense the result had been calculated correctly in the Electronic Data Processing center.

However, he suspects that not all election results had been correctly gathered on the way to the center. He hopes that the legal foundations for really free elections in the GDR will be created.

Honecker's Role Recounted

*LD2201161490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1440 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The former GDR State Council chairman and Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary disclosed on Monday to the roundtable in Berlin the relationship between the SED and the State Security Service. He said that under the leadership of the security apparatus, the whole of society had been administered and the citizen emasculated. In the SED as well, there was a growing inability to make corrections, and opportunism and disillusion had spread. Critical voices experienced the power of the Ministry for State Security [MFS]. Important security questions were decided solely by Erich Honecker and the minister for state security at the time, Erich Mielke. Honecker and Mielke met for a discussion every Tuesday without any other persons present. Decisions that were akin to military instructions, completely outside any kind of control, were taken then. In connection with the fact that people with different opinions were viewed as hostile forces, Krenz spoke of "clear violations of human rights." Finally, he explained in detail the command and leadership structures between the SED and the former MFS at the central, area, and district level.

Wolfgang Herger made a personal statement in which he unambiguously accepted that he was jointly responsible for the entire policy of the SED and, since 1985, the military and security policy derived from it, that he had helped to work this out and to present it because he had been of the opinion that this served the well-being of the people. It was in particular under the influence of the forcible smashing of the democratic movement in China that his humanist basic view, his understanding of political morals, began increasingly to contradict the way in which the old Politburo under the leadership of Erich Honecker wanted to hold on to power with every means. He knew from information from the MFS that the dissatisfaction and the resistance against this policy was growing in the party and among the people. Like Egon Krenz, he feared that it could result in violent developments in the GDR. For this reason, he actively pushed for Erich Honecker's dismissal, together with Egon Krenz and other members of the Central Committee of the SED, including from the protective and security organs. Herger stressed that he saw in this the sole possibility to pave the way for a true democracy and for cultured behavior between people with different political opinions, and, above all, to prevent a violent clash with incalculable consequences for the country.

Security Role Discussed

*LD2201180690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1643 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Further questions about security problems were on the agenda today at the afternoon session of the eighth meeting of the round table in Berlin-Niederschoenhausen. [passage omitted]

In the discussion there were many questions from the floor about the cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and state security and about the structures of the former Ministry of State Security [MFS]. Krenz and Herger said that there had been a strict separation of political and official activity. The political work for which they had been responsible was aimed at training the members of the protection and security bodies in the spirit of upholding the laws and preserving the Constitution. What they regarded at that time as quite correct, they see today from quite a different perspective. Thus Herger took the view that such an MFS as existed then had no justification in a democratic legal state.

Representatives of the opposition again and again reaffirmed, in connection with this subject, their demand for accelerated dissolution of the Office of National Security. They were also interested in the activities of the so-called area and district operational executives. Their task was to make preparations for a period of tension. However, this had never been based on internal events, but always on a danger of aggression from the outside, it was explained.

Krenz gave a detailed account of his work in the party leadership in October of last year. In connection with the escalating situation in Leipzig, he spoke of how violence had been prevented. Thus he had presented an order to Honecker at that time setting out reasons why a Chinese solution was out of the question for the GDR.

There were also questions about rigging in the local elections in 1989. Krenz said that he, as chairman of the Central Election Commission, had not issued any directives to falsify the election results. Today he had to admit that for 40 years there had been no free elections in this country, but only a "folding of papers." He did not rule out the possibility that there had been rigging within the constituencies, even before the results were sent on to Berlin.

Government Discusses 1975 Nuclear Accident

*LD2201164190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1558 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During the accident in the Greifswald nuclear power station (GDR Area of Rostock) in December 1975 there was no damage to fuel elements and no impermissible effects from radiation. This was announced by the GDR State Office of Nuclear Security and Radiation Protection in a statement sent to ADN. The statement was occasioned by an article in the FRG magazine, SPIEGEL, which raises the subject of the operational safety of the nuclear power station in its latest edition and reports on the accident, however, dating it as 1976.

Apparently SPIEGEL was referring to the accident in December 1975 in which control and power cables in blocks 1 and 2 become nonoperational. The reactors were shut down automatically and measures for the

disposal of excess heat were carried out, the statement says. As a result of investigations, measures to increase safety were instituted.

"Within the framework of bilateral cooperation with the FRG, the incident will be included in the planned joint safety assessment of the blocks 1 to 4 of the Greifswald nuclear power station."

Details of Accident Noted

AU2201185190 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL
in German 22 Jan 90 pp 85-87

[Unattributed report: "Everything Dead"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] For decades the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] regime had concealed the dangers of nuclear power plants from its citizens, and incidents have been covered up. Experts in the GDR are now visibly relieved that they can publicly talk about safety problems and—maybe—solve them, with Bonn's help. Numerous construction defects have been detected, GDR experts admit. "In the course of my visit, my reservations were not eliminated, but my doubts increased," FRG Environment Minister Toepfer stated.

This is a cautiously worded statement. The Bonn minister and his expert on reactor safety, Adolf Birkhofer, want to avoid giving the impression that the joint safety analysis of the four pressurized water reactors of the "Bruno Leuschner" combine near Greifswald, which were put into operation between 1973 and 1980, is only a formal matter, while the outcome is already considered to be certain.

However, the disaster is quite obvious. Georg Sitzlack, the GDR official responsible for radiation safety, confirms the doubts.

After all, old plants are involved that "were created by Soviet heads 30 years ago." It is not certain "whether we are still capable of acting in certain borderline cases."

In one instance, it was mere coincidence that a disaster was prevented, and so far the GDR Government has not admitted that a catastrophe of the dimensions of the nuclear accident in Chernobyl in the Ukraine nearly took place. It was "a wonder" that "large parts of northern Germany, Denmark, and Sweden" were not contaminated by radioactivity, an engineer responsible for the safety of the plant stressed.

Because of inadmissible work on the earthing system by an electrical engineer who was instructing a new colleague, a cable system in the WWR-440 nuclear power plant supplied by the Soviet Union was set on fire. The electrical engineer released the safety device of a lever locking the earthing system of the 6-kilovolt plant: "The man's pliers slipped, and this was the beginning of the disaster."

Safety devices that had been checked several times failed completely. The emergency power-generating plant driven by diesel generators, which is supposed to supply the most important units of a nuclear power plant with electricity, such as the pumps for a stand-by cooling system, failed. "The cables in the emergency power-generating plant also burned." Only the emergency shutdown, the "protection against damage of the first order" worked. The absorber cassettes [Absorberkassetten] fell between the fuel elements and interrupted the chain reaction. However, the remaining heat of about 80 megawatts continued to pose an extreme danger: There was the danger of a nuclear meltdown.

"The time bomb was ticking," the engineer stated. The catastrophe could only be avoided if it were possible to channel off the enormous energy through cooling water.

All six pumps designed to channel off the heat in normal operations were out of order because of the fire. The stand-by cooling system included six more pumps, five of which could not be activated.

"By a mere coincidence" because of maintenance work, the sixth stand-by pump was not connected with the power-generating plant of the burning block I, but with reactor block II.

In the control room, all important indicating devices had failed, "everything was dead." Nobody was able to exactly analyze the situation in the reactor, the engineer reported. While the fire brigade was fighting the fire, as a result of which heavy smoke and gas had developed, they wondered whether a meltdown would take place or not. The pump was strong enough to prevent this.

The places where fire had broken out were cleaned under strict secrecy, with the Army being used as well. Block I was repaired at a speed that is unusual for GDR conditions, and put into operation again after about 4 months. [passage omitted]

SPD Declines To Offer Office to Berghofer

LD2201204590 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The GDR Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SPD] does not intend to offer Dresden Mayor Berghofer a party post following his resignation from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialist [SED-PDS]. SPD spokesman Hiltzberg said today on Sarlaendischer Rundfunk that, in addition to the basic responsibility of the SPD local associations for admitting new members, it had also been laid down that former SED members cannot independently put themselves forward for a political post in the SPD.

Party manager Boehme stressed that his party is not prepared to accept large numbers of former SED members into its ranks. But, Boehme told AP he would be glad to see Berghofer, who had called for reforms at

personal risk, in the SPD. Berghofer is clever enough not to strive for party office there yet.

Wants Vote of Confidence

*LD2201132590 Hamburg DPA in German
1239 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to information from the BILD newspaper (Tuesday's edition) [23 January], Berghofer intends to ask the Dresden city assembly for a vote of confidence this Thursday [25 January]. Berghofer was elected chief mayor of Dresden in 1986 as a candidate of the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. Yesterday he announced his resignation from the SED-PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]

SPD Press Office Chief Resigns

*LD2201185690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1747 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The head of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] press office, Dr. Olaf R. Spittel, announced his resignation from this function on Monday. In a letter passed to ADN, he said the reason for his step is "the leadership weaknesses and deviations from the basic principles of social democracy" emerging recently in a majority of the members of the SPD Executive.

He trusts in the ability of the SPD to prove itself the best representative for the future hopes of the citizens of this country and regrets not being able to work with the SPD Executive in its present composition.

Magdeburg Security Office To Be Disbanded

*LD2201156190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1431 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] Magdeburg (ADN)—The representative of the Office for National Security gave to the city's citizens' committee an initial comprehensive assessment on the state of the disbandment of the Area Office for National Security. An ultimatum was set by the committee members last week because the disbandment of the office had been hampered and delayed by its staff.

The citizens' committee accepted the report subject to thorough examination as to completeness. The report shows, for instance, that more than 1,800 of the approximately 2,450 employees of the former area administration have been dismissed. Of them, 116 have still no new job. [passage omitted] According to a roundtable resolution of the Magdeburg Area, the Area Office for National Security is to be disbanded by 31 March.

Suspected Election Fraud Investigations Begin

*LD2301094690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0621 GMT 23 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Eleven investigative proceedings for suspected election fraud in the GDR local

government elections on 7 May 1989 have been instituted, six of them against named suspects. This was stated by state prosecutor Matthias Pahn on Tuesday in an interview with BERLINER ZEITUNG. Pahn is head of a working group of the GDR Prosecutor General's Office, which was set up specifically to deal with the legal investigation of election fraud.

He said that one of the proceedings was instituted against the former chief mayor of Potsdam, who is accused "as chairman of an electoral commission of not having correctly recounted the election result, and thus falsified the election." He is now in custody.

The paper pointed out in the interview that approximately 100 election frauds have been reported. Prosecutor Pahn: "The reports concern a whole range of suspected election falsifications. They concern differences between the vote counts in the individual polling stations and their forwarding and published results, the illegal alteration of electoral lists, crossing out of names, the posting of ballot papers by unauthorized persons, manipulations through counter votes, as well as the insufficient checking of results." Several reports referred to special polling stations where most of the vote counts had not taken place publicly. Most of the reports concentrated on Berlin and Potsdam.

It has turned out that the election documents were destroyed some time ago. However, the state prosecution has been able to secure the concluding reports of electoral commissions, as well as election records. Statements by people involved have also been received. Pahn said he is optimistic that "many of the cases will be cleared up." [passage omitted]

Fence To Replace Berlin Wall

*LD2301093590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0808 GMT 23 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the GDR border troops began demolishing the Berlin Wall in the middle borough on Monday [22 January] evening. Lieutenant Colonel Rainer Menzel told ADN that the concrete wall is to be demolished between Leuschnerdamm and Sebastian Street over a length of 320 meters. Troops began removing big chunks of the wall with saws and lifting cranes. The work will be carried out at night. Rainer Menzel said that by Friday [26 January] about 20 meters per night will be dismantled.

He said the GDR foreign trade firm Limex was particularly interested in the colorful wall section along Leuschnerdamm. It intends to sell the graffiti on purely commercial lines. The officer confirmed information from the West Berlin Senate, according to which the GDR border troops will be erecting on this spot a 1.9-meter-high metal fence without barbed wire.

1990 Trade Protocol Signed With USSR

AU2912215189 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 21 Dec 89 p 6

[ADN report: "Compromise for Trade With USSR"]

[Text] In an interview, GDR Deputy Foreign Economics Minister Eduard Schwierz assessed the 1990 annual protocol on trade between the GDR and the USSR as an optimum compromise. Not least because of economic problems in both countries, he considers the very specific trade package, which is underpinned with lists of goods, to be a remarkable achievement.

The pressure by producers in the USSR to get part of their products for their own disposal is steadily increasing and causing problems for the GDR partners. At the moment, almost 11,000 enterprises and institutions of the USSR are authorized to conduct foreign trade. In GDR foreign trade, it is necessary to orient oneself more directly toward the final customer.

The minister assessed the GDR's market position as good. The GDR is still the No. 1 deliverer of machinery and equipment for the USSR. Concerning rail vehicles, the GDR delivers almost one-third of the USSR imports. In air-conditioning equipment, the figure is even more than half.

The GDR needs such large exports to the East, since this pays for the import of important raw materials such as crude oil, hard coal, and coke. The goods ranges in GDR shops are enriched by Soviet consumer goods, such as miniature cameras, television sets, refrigerators, printing products, toys, and nonessential foods and beverages. Unfortunately, passenger cars, such as Lada (also Samara), Moskvich, Saporoshez, and Volga vehicles for taxis are not imported in the desired numbers. The importing of 14,000 cars has been agreed to. In addition, the GDR will receive urgently needed mining equipment, angle-dozer, excavators, roller bearings, tractors, and aviation technology.

2-Hour Transport Strike in Budapest*LD2301092490 Budapest MTI in English 0900 GMT
23 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)—The warning strike of Budapest Transport Company BKV on Tuesday morning affected at least one million passengers in Budapest. After the two-hour strike, traffic resumed between 6:30 and 7:00 a.m.

The passengers, companies and schools had well in advance prepared for the strike, officially a wild cat. In most Budapest schools teaching hours began only at 9:00 a.m. and in a number of factories the night shift was prolonged, and the morning shift started later in order to avoid production loss.

Assembly May Receive No-Confidence Motion*LD2201200790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] At the National Assembly session that begins tomorrow, several deputies will propose a no-confidence motion if the interior minister does not resign. It has also been proposed that a parliamentary investigative committee should ascertain who is personally responsible for the current national situation. Twenty-four draft laws, draft amendments to laws, and personal proposals are on the agenda of the session, which is planned to last 4 days.

Horvath Addresses Assembly on Resignation*LD2301115490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0911 GMT 23 Jan 90*

[Speech by Interior Minister Istvan Horvath at Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, allow me to speak prior to a discussion of the agenda. I imagine the content and character of what I have to say make this justified and necessary. The leadership of the Ministry of the Interior naturally has prepared itself so that when the time comes, within the framework of the agenda, it will fully meet its obligation to report about the investigation of the so-called phone-tapping scandal.

The reason I have asked for leave to speak now is that stemming from my function and my political convictions, I feel it to be my duty that, in the face of stirring emotions, of misinterpretations, of public shock, and of the flood of threats which increasingly lead to disarray in the state apparatus, I should call for level-headedness, deliberation, and realism.

An attack and campaign against the Ministry of the Interior, the State Security Service, and myself are under way. As it is generally known, the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats have accused the Ministry of the Interior's State Security Service of violating the law. They sent their report to the Prosecutor's Office. In this regard we have to speak

openly, without hysterics, about matters which were earlier girded by modest silence, for a multitude of reasons.

Esteemed National Assembly: Without doubt, the internal counterintelligence section [belsoe elharito reszeg] of the Ministry of the Interior's State Security Service was one of the products and one of the lasting pillars of the party-state. In essence it was under immediate party direction; it carried out its activity, which was regulated by basic internal, non-public provisions and commands, in accordance with political directives [direktivak]. On occasion it carried out its activity on direct instructions received from the party leadership.

Perhaps it is not difficult to recognize that this, in spite of the good intentions of the majority of the State Security staff, was among the spheres where it is the most difficult to eliminate the marks of the party-state structure.

In the past weeks, it has become clear and spectacularly demonstrated, reflected in the changes in Eastern Europe, that the dismantling of this structure from inside, through peaceful means, is a very complex political task. At the same time, a peaceful dismantling is an essential condition so that the transition will really be peaceful.

I would like to briefly inform the esteemed deputies about some facts. We began to adapt state security work to the requirements of the change of system at the beginning of 1989. We began at a time when the entire political system had not yet matured and when potentially explosive mass demonstrations were being organized. In the wake of this work, it became possible for the cabinet of the Council of Ministers, at its session on 3 July 1989, to approve at my submission the new conception pertaining to state security work. In this there was already a formulation of the new political slant of legality and the requirement that the methods and means that could be used should be publicly regulated by law and that their control should fall under parliament's jurisdiction.

Thus, we were already able to give an account at the political coordinating talks of the new conception of State Security work and of the commencement of preparations on the law.

The ministry boldly urged that at the political coordinating talks, the Law on State Security should be included among the cardinal laws. The constitutional amendment was also based on the new concept, foreshadowing a separation of the police, (?state) security, and [words indistinct]. When the Constitution was amended, parliament set the deadline for enacting the new legal regulations, which were becoming necessary, as being on 30 April 1990.

Our work in preparing the law was adapted to this with the government's approval. The Interior Ministry also

did considerable work concerning the legal institutionalization of the change of system in other spheres. Simultaneously with a transformation of the role of police power, a modernization of administration was begun. The preparation of the Law on Self-government progressed. An alteration of the entire system of the border guard continued. We tackled the refugee affair. We worked out a new law on passports, on emigration, and on immigration.

For political reasons independent of me, as well as owing to the organization's incompetence, the security sphere's transformation was last. Retrospectively, I now say with regret: I accepted the situation in which it would be necessary to submit the Law on National Security to the National Assembly, only after the elections. If there was an omission on my part, it was that I did not more vigorously demand the soonest possible enactment of the law and that, although I launched the process, I did not sufficiently control a nullification of the regulations stemming from the time of the party-state.

But allow me to ask the question: Why was it in the interest of the opposition's organizations, which now raise such a clamor, to postpone a discussion of the topic which they are now calling me to account for?

Ladies and gentlemen, it has probably become clear in the past days that this entire affair in truth is not a legal, but primarily a political issue. The aim of the carefully composed attacks is that some political forces should, even before the elections, bring the issue of power to a head. The Federation of Young Democrats is not even making a secret of this intention. The discrediting of some members of government, placing them in an impossible situation, is aimed at paralyzing all of government and state administrative activity.

Owing to its legacy, the Interior Ministry's activity, especially state security, is particularly suited to being a direct target of political attacks. What is thought-provoking, before the elections are successfully organized and conducted, is for whom is it important and who benefits if the Interior Ministry's administrative branch becomes totally insecure and falls into disarray? Is it possible that not everyone is taking it seriously that the people should decide on the country's political future? Allow me to say, in truth, that what is at issue here is not state security, not the Ministry of the Interior, not Istvan Horvath.

Esteemed National Assembly, the possibility is—would be—here, finally, for the transformation which has begun to take place amid peaceful frameworks, according to European norms, with tolerance, and without taking vengeance and settling scores. Instead of this, we can see the dangerous signs of general anarchy, when there again is a threat of misfortune for the nation and when the witchhunting of millions becomes an election program. Slowly, we will stand here in a confused situation, in which there is a threat not of a

momentary drama but of a large historical danger, in which the nation, like an unbound sheaf, falls apart.

For this reason, here and now the real question is not the summary judgment of a body, but whether Hungary will be the victim of senseless party battles, or whether those who want a peaceful transition will be able to realize this.

My intention is not to defend the honor of the uniform in an unprincipled manner. You are acquainted with my political views, my work. I am not qualified to pass judgment on my activity. This will be done by time and not by narrow party interests stirred by current political battles. It would be unfair and not suited to the occasion if I were to go through the insulting accusations which have recently been aimed at me by my implacable political opponents. I have tried to head the Ministry of the Interior by asserting the nation's interests in the spirit of reform. In the course of realizing my ever-increasing tasks, I, together with my colleagues, endeavored with all my energy to make the ministry suitable to meet the legal, political requirements of a civilized, European constitutional state.

If you look beyond this hall to the countries where the public will of the nation was asserted, through grave conflicts, through the bloodshed of innocent people, you can see the difference. In Hungary there were no such drastic clashes between the authority's organization of force and the people; there was no such scale of struggle. I imagine that not one sober person disputes that the apparatus of the ministry also had a role in this. I at the same time feel I have reason to say that if the campaign launched against the Ministry of the Interior continues in this manner, millions of people will feel great apprehension, and the expected escalation of emotions is virtually without a doubt.

I fear this current campaign is the prelude to a new inquisition, right now, when a remedying of the damages from the internments, from deportations, from show trials, from Recsk [an internment camp], from the tragedies after 1956, is going on.

But I still have hope, too, because it is impossible for there to be a situation in Hungary where those who want to continue this peaceful transition without further sacrifices are not in the majority.

Esteemed National Assembly, those who demand I leave are openly saying that they are disturbed by the possibility that members, leaders of the one-time Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, who launched the turnaround in Hungary and who now are active in the Socialist Party or in government, through their previous performance and their plans for the future, might also be creditable protagonists of the new Hungarian democracy. They want to prevent this, it makes no difference through what means and at what a price.

I am a socialist. This means to me that in the future, too, I will work to the best of my ability to serve the community's interests and endeavors. It is necessary to

consider how my activity in the eighties, the process of the Interior Ministry's transformation, relates to the importance of the scandal which has now been forced out. It appears that at the moment there is no chance for the process of consideration to take place in a level-headed manner, amid the framework of sober realities.

Having thought through everything about which I have spoken, which has befallen me in the past weeks and days, I have reached the conclusion that I will stand, I will resign my mandate as minister, because this is what is customary in a legal state, in a democracy—which is what all of us want.

I will preserve my respect for parliament, for the premier, for my fellow ministers, and for my colleagues, who in such a crucial and accelerated period have been able to surmount their self-interests and made responsible decisions on matters that determine the nation's fate. I thank you for the opportunity you once placed in my hands, for the trust with which you honored me. Thank you. [applause]

Ministry Statement on AFD, FIDESZ Reports

LD2001020690 Budapest MTI in English 2128 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—In the wake of the announcements tendentiously portioned by the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of the Interior have launched investigation. The minister of the interior is to put forward a report at the forthcoming parliamentary session. In reaction to the announcements made by AFD and FIDESZ at their Friday [19 January] press conference, the Ministry of the Interior stated:

Jozsef Vegvari worked indeed at the Internal Security Department as an officer on duty. The commander in charge laid an information against Vegvari with the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office under the well-founded suspicion of breach of state secret, and suspended him from his post. Concerning the destruction of documents, the Ministry of the Interior stresses again that the documents are selected regularly, in keeping with the effective rules of the state. Since the Republic of Hungary was proclaimed on October 23, 1989, and the amended Constitution and penal code took effect, all secret data, reports and records have been destroyed under the new rules since their further preservation would have violated the amended laws. The secret documents of the Imre Nagy trial have not been destroyed. Some of them were handed over to the judicial organs during the process of rehabilitation while the other documents are still kept in the Ministry of the Interior. The allegation that data are still collected does not correspond to the facts since the minister of the interior instructed the service concerned to suspend the collection of information by secret means and methods.

Jozsef Vegvari's appearance forms part of the political campaign aimed at disarranging the state apparatus during the run-up to the elections. According to all indications, some political forces give priority to their party interests over the general security interests of peaceful transition, the nation and the Republic of Hungary.

News Conference on Interior Ministry Activities

LD1901212990 Budapest MTI in English 1500 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—The government should go public with the Ministry of the Interior report on the bugging scandal, and about who has had access to read the document. An independent committee should be set up to examine the internal counter-intelligence activity of the State Security Service. It should also be made public whether the minister of the interior has resigned or not, and if so, an independent lawyer should be temporarily appointed in his place until a new government is appointed. The State Security Service should be separated from the Ministry of the Interior and the internal counter-intelligence section of internal counter-intelligence service—these were just some of the demands leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) made at a press conference on the latest developments in the Hungarian bugging scandal on January 19.

Police Major Jozsef Vegvari, a member of the State Security Service, was introduced at the news conference. The major said he was the one who led the information about the activity of the internal counter-intelligence section.

On December 24, following the ecumenical mass held in Budapest's Heroes' Square, he asked the Reverend Gabor Roszik, MP, (Hungarian Democratic Forum), to set up a meeting between himself and representatives of 'Black Box', an independent video company. Black Box representatives were then able to film inside the building of the State Security Service of the Ministry of the Interior, capturing the speedy manner in which the vaults were emptied, as well as the several tonnes of documents awaiting shredding.

Both the AFD and FIDESZ will ensure the major—who is to retire on January 31—protection.

Mr Vegvari said he was on duty the night of January 18 to 19, and reported that under the terms of the most recent order of the minister of the interior, the shredding of documents was continuing even today—the morning of January 19—as the minister, Istvan Horvath, had ordered 'all documents' to be destroyed. The secret sections relating to the trial of Imre Nagy 'disappeared' between Christmas and New Year's eve. Files relating to people and groups under observation who were being bugged (leading representatives of the opposition parties, well-known artists, literary experts), have been

shredded, and wiped out even from the central records of the Ministry of the Interior. The major said the State Security Service is carrying out the orders of the ruling party, and pursuing its activity in the interest of the ruling party.

Information gathered by the network is selected, analyzed, and the data considered interesting then goes to Ferenc Pallagi, leader of the State Security Service, who—according to information heard at the press conference—has also resigned. The minister of the interior, Istvan Horvath, is also kept informed. Major Vegvari also said that the minister of the interior informs the Council of Ministers about the reports, and, occasionally, the president of the Hungarian Socialist Party as well.

In answer to a question, the major also said that the work of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, and within this, of the State Security Service, was controlled by Soviet supervising officers even as late as August, 1989.

Medgyessy Chairs Council of Ministers Session

*LD1801223590 Budapest MTI in English 2132 GMT
18 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, presented a report on the bugging scandal to Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, who chaired the Thursday [18 January] session of the government. Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth was absent from the session because of illness, government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok briefed the press on Thursday. The Council of Ministers will discuss the report on Saturday, January 20, hopefully in the attendance of the prime minister, the spokesman said.

In a move to implement the economic policy programme of 1990, the government passed several decrees. It stipulated that Hungary should maintain balanced relations with the CMEA countries and, on concluding inter-state agreements, keep the Hungarian interests in view. On this score, Mr Bajnok said in the first two weeks of January Hungary's surplus in rouble trade increased by 250 million roubles to exceed 1,000 million. In the current economic situation, Hungary can no longer afford this outlay of capital yielding no interest. This is why the minister of trade suspended all licences for exports denominated in roubles.

Nemeth Letter Delivered to USSR's Ryzhkov

*LD2101012490 Budapest MTI in English 1854 GMT
20 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, January 20 (MTI)—A letter Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth addressed to Soviet head of government Nikolay Ryzhkov was presented by Ambassador Sandor Gyorko to Ivan Aboimov, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, in Moscow on Friday [19 January].

MTI's Moscow Office was informed on Saturday that Miklos Nemeth, confirming the previous exchange of the prime ministers' letters, notified his Soviet colleague of the setting up of a working group to examine questions related to the modernization of Hungarian-Soviet Economic Cooperation.

At the same time, the Hungarian prime minister informed Nikolay Ryzhkov that the Republic of Hungary was ready to hold a substantive discussion on the problems of cooperation.

HDF Delegation's Moscow Visit Reviewed

*LD1801223190 Budapest MTI in English 2145 GMT
18 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, January 18 (MTI)—A four-member delegation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), headed by Gyorgy Schamschula, member of the national board and economic adviser to the Presidium, visited Moscow from January 15 to 18 at the invitation of the Federation of Soviet Friendship Societies. It was the first official visit paid to Moscow by a delegation of the Hungarian opposition. On Thursday, the delegation was received in the CPSU CC [Central Committee] headquarters.

The visit was initiated by the HDF. The delegation members told the Moscow correspondent of MTI that the Soviet Embassy in Budapest provided great assistance in preparing the visit.

The four-day programme focussed on economic issues. The economic experts of the HDF wished to survey the prospects of Hungary's medium-term supply with Soviet energy, and exchange views with Soviet economists on transition to convertible accounting in bilateral and CMEA trade.

The delegation held profound talks with some excellent Soviet economists.

On Thursday, the delegation met Oleg Rybakov, deputy head of the CPSU CC's Foreign Affairs Department.

The HDF should start from the fact that the Soviet Union will remain one of the major commercial and economic partners of Hungary in the long term, the HDF experts said and noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union was prepared to maintain the level of energy deliveries in the future.

Further Reportage on Visit by Japan's Kaifu

Szuross-Kaifu Meeting

*LD1601182990 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT
16 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—After the Hungarian-Japanese prime ministerial plenary talks, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, met Toshiaki Kaifu.

Mr Szuros pointed out, "Our aim is to create a free, democratic Hungary by the millenium, for which an appropriate background may be offered by Japan's participation in implementing our programmes. [no end quotation marks received]

Matyas Szuros said that last year's changes had essentially modified the East-West situation, as well as the role of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. CMEA's operation should be placed on a new, market-oriented basis, and the Warsaw Treaty transformed into an organization of political cooperation. Hungary wants to accelerate the disbanding of the two blocs within Europe which it considers a guarantee for peaceful coexistence on long term.

The unification of the two German states is unavoidable, but it is not irrelevant when and how it would take place. The question is closely connected with the European situation and the future of the military alliances, Mr Szuros said.

The Japanese prime minister said a single European alliance is only conceivable if the common market establishes close contacts with the renewed CMEA and the EFTA. [European Free Trade Association].

Kaifu on European Tour

*LD1601194690 Budapest MTI in English 1821 GMT
16 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu delivered a paper in Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest on Tuesday [16 January], summing up the experience gained during his European tour. Mr Kaifu said the evaluation of the East European reform processes figured on the agenda of his talks in both Western and Eastern Europe. The reforms which accelerated dramatically in the second half of last year changed not only Eastern Europe but had a major influence on East-West relations, too, Mr Kaifu said. The Japanese prime minister stressed that Poland and Hungary, the two states he visited, were the first countries to embark on the road of reforms. In this sense, the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian people played a direct role in the shaping of history, he said.

To play a role like that requires great sacrifice, since all periods of transition are accompanied by uncertainty and liability. This process, however, should be made irreversible, Mr Kaifu said. According to the Japanese standpoint. The Hungarian reforms aimed at democracy and a market economy are based on firm foundations. And the current visit of the prime minister is meant to demonstrate that the Hungarian efforts are welcomed and promoted by Japan and several other countries. Mr Kaifu said the experience gained in Hungary and his talks with Miklos Nemeth and other politicians convinced him that Hungary was a committed advocate of reform and that bilateral relations, based on new foundations, would develop rapidly.

In reply to questions by the students. Mr Kaifu said that the world processes were advancing towards the replacement of confrontation by dialogue and cooperation. And Japan would make every possible effort to strengthen this process. Japan pays distinguished attention to the East European events of historic importance, and seeks to support the reforms which have a considerable influence on East-West relations. In doing so, Japan wishes to strengthen world peace, the prime minister said.

Concluding his Tuesday programme, Mr Kaifu met representatives of the Hungarian-Japanese Economic Club, The Hungarian-Japanese Friendship Circle, and the Japanese colony in Hungary.

Nemeth-Kaifu News Conference

*LD1701142290 Budapest MTI in English 1132 GMT
17 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—Visiting Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and his Hungarian host, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, held an international press conference on Wednesday morning at Budapest's Hilton Hotel. The two heads of government also gave a brief introductory statement.

Mr Nemeth emphasized that the visit by the Japanese prime minister was of particular importance to Hungary, because Mr Kaifu is the first Japanese prime minister to pay an official visit here. This could well be a milestone in establishing ties between the two countries.

Also of great significance to Hungary was that Japan—now one of the world's leading economic powers—follows the Hungarian reform process and democratic transformation with great attention.

Mr Nemeth spoke with satisfaction about the talks he has been holding with Mr Kaifu. Results of the discussions conform to the present level of ties and assist in their further development.

Mr Nemeth went on to say that Hungary hoped Japan would assume a greater role in the ongoing Hungarian restructuring programme. He was also pleased to note that within the G24, and also on a bilateral scale, Japan is ready to provide assistance to Hungary.

Hungary would like to see the changes in central and Eastern Europe take place in a peaceful way, and to see an early stabilisation of the economic and political situation in the region. Related Hungarian concepts—including those concerning CMEA reforms—are designed to serve this end.

Hungary is endeavouring to create a new kind of European cooperation and greater security for the peoples of Europe. This stability would also be in the interest of other parts of the world. A Europe cooperating in this way would not seek to drive out the USA or Japan. On the contrary, ties would develop more dynamically as a result.

Mr Kaifu also spoke about the significance of the East European reforms, stressing that all these have an overall impact on East-West relations.

Within these processes, the changes taking place in Hungary were of historical significance, he said, and described Hungary as the standard-bearer of reforms. Mr Kaifu explained his personal impressions had convinced him that there was no turning back now from the road of reforms. Japan had decided to support the reforms in Hungary and Poland, hoping that in so doing it could contribute to stabilising presently unsettled Eastern Europe. This would have a favourable impact on the world situation as well, Mr Kaifu continued.

As a result of the visit, Hungarian-Japanese ties could develop on new bases and a more elevated level. The East-West division which came about after the war has now come to an end, and a new world order is in the offing. Mr Kaifu said he would like to serve this end through his visit.

Both sides consider Hungarian-Japanese relations to be good and settled, Miklos Nemeth said in reply to a question. The prime ministers also agreed that the present structural crisis of the Hungarian economy can only be resolved with external help.

Extension of the strong banking relations to the productive sphere is being hampered by the Cocom [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls] regulations which obstruct the transfer of technology. Mr Nemeth said it was particularly important that the Japanese prime minister also considers a "reasonable" amendment to the Cocom stipulations necessary. A delegation of Japanese financiers and businessmen is expected in Hungary in March to survey the position of the Hungarian economy, investment opportunities, and the local environment for the operation of foreign capital.

The Hungarian economy has to be placed on more than one basis to do away with its one-sided dependence which—in the field of energy supply, for instance—could become the source of serious problems.

Answering questions, the two heads of government spoke about the current domestic policy events in the Soviet Union. Toshiki Kaifu stressed that not even a civil war situation would induce the Japanese Government to change its East European policy. Miklos Nemeth pointed out that East and West, small and large countries, are equally interested in Gorbachevian perestroika continuing. One way for the other East European countries, including Hungary, to promote this process is to safeguard their own stability.

Asked about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, Mr Nemeth said that the presence of these troops was no longer justified either by domestic or military policy considerations. The pull-out started in 1989 and is continuing this year, but no date has been fixed for the complete withdrawal. The special envoys of the two governments are engaged in negotiating the details, also

with regard to the Vienna arms reduction talks. Hungary sees a possibility of accelerating these talks, Mr Nemeth said.

More on News Conference

OW1701142790 Tokyo KYODO in English 1353 GMT
17 Jan 90

[By Mitsuru Mabuchi]

[Text] Budapest, Jan. 17 KYODO—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth indicated Wednesday that Soviet troops stationed in his country may withdraw completely at an early date. Nemeth said in a joint press conference with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu that Hungary and the Soviet Union are now negotiating the timetable for the pullout, but Nemeth said he could not specify whether it would be late this year or early next year.

The two countries have set up a joint committee that is working on the timetable, he said. "We are basically in agreement that the Soviet military presence in Hungary is now meaningless, both politically and militarily," he said. The Soviet Union pulled out part of its troops last year, and will continue to do so this year, he said.

The outcome of the bilateral talks will be within the framework of the multilateral arms reduction talks being held in Vienna among 23 countries, said Nemeth, expressing hope that the Vienna talks will pick up speed.

Kaifu, who is here on the last stop in his 11-day European tour, welcomed the reported change in the Soviets' stand toward Japan's territorial claim over the northern territories.

The Soviet policy shift toward the territories—four small islands off Hokkaido that it seized and occupied at the end of World War II—was indicated in leader Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Shintaro Abe, former secretary general of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], in Moscow on Monday. Gorbachev reportedly told Abe that it is Japan's right to claim its sovereignty over the islands. The territorial dispute has been the principal snag that kept the two nations from signing a peace treaty.

If the Soviet Union has really made the step forward over the issue, as reported, Japan will be willing to expand its relations with the country in a variety of fields, Kaifu said.

Asked about the outlook of the current reforms in the Soviet Union, Nemeth said Gorbachev is in a very difficult position with Baltic republics being in turmoil bordering on civil war. He stressed the importance of joint support for the Soviet political reforms by both Western and Eastern countries. Nemeth, however, expressed confidence that Gorbachev's perestroika will eventually win the day.

In responding to a query about the possible effects of a further deterioration of the Soviets' current internal problems on Japan's economic assistance to Eastern European countries, Kaifu said there will be no change in Japan's stance toward the aid.

Nemeth called for larger Japanese investments in Hungary, pointing out that there are not many joint ventures yet between Japan and Hungary. He welcomed Japan's avowed efforts to boost its investments in Hungary, including a fact-finding mission to investigate the investment environment due to visit the country in March.

Nemeth also emphasized that it is in the interest of the two countries to further deepen their current close financial relations. Hungary owes Japan about 40 percent of its 20 billion dollars in foreign debts.

Nemeth proclaimed that the 10-member Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) should transform itself into a new trading system that can accommodate cooperative trade relations with countries outside the communist bloc. He said the 40-year-old trade regimen should develop into a system embracing global cooperation.

And he added that Japan and the United States should not be excluded from the process to build a new, more unified Europe.

The Hungarian premier thanked Japan for its promise to promote "rationalization" of the export restrictions to Soviet bloc countries imposed by the 16-member Paris-based Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (Cocom).

Japan pledged to urge other Cocom members to scrap or ease such export curbs, as they are meaningless or out-dated.

The Hungarian premier said his country will correct its overall external policy, which has been skewed in favor of some specific countries, and will seek more widespread diplomacy.

To a question of whether Japan is optimistic about the Hungarian economy, which apparently connoted that Japan's assistance is too small considering the huge economic malaise afflicting the country, Kaifu stressed that technological and other assistance through human exchanges is as important as money. "I am neither optimistic nor pessimistic about the Hungarian economy, but will keep a close eye on the country's development," he said.

Responding to a question about growing criticism in some Western European countries that Japan is only pursuing another business opportunity through expanding its presence in Eastern European nations, Nemeth said Hungary will offer equal chances to every country. Hungary has no objections to Japan's making money in the country, he said.

Kaifu later met Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay and pledged Japan's cooperation in stabilizing Hungary's economy to allow political reforms to take root. Pozsgay, who is said to be a candidate to be Hungary's next president, expressed strong hopes for closer ties with Japan.

Kaifu will leave Hungary on Wednesday evening to return home after winding up the European tour that has also taken him to West Germany, Belgium, France, Britain, Italy, the Vatican and Poland.

Kaifu Ends Official Visit

*LD1701204190 Budapest MTI in English 1853 GMT
17 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—Concluding their official visit to Hungary, Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and his entourage left Hungary Wednesday evening. The guard of honour lined up and the Japanese premier was seen off by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Earlier, Mr Kaifu met Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, and representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, and the Federation of Young Democrats.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Return from CSSR
LD2301013190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2300 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by unidentified reporter at the Warsaw Airport upon his return from Czechoslovakia on 22 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] We want good, close cooperation between two independent states and close, mutual ties between our peoples, said Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki after his talks with Czechoslovakia's Prime Minister Marian Calfa. [passage omitted] Late tonight, Tadeusz Mazowiecki returned to Warsaw. This is what he told our reporter at the airport:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] This visit was forecast as a turning point which could bring a complete change in Polish-Czech relations. Was that how it turned out?

[Mazowiecki] Well, you know, we shall see. It is hard for me to appraise it right now. It seems to me that we were willing to make a start at better relations, so that friendship is not just a watchword, while inside there is some feeling of estrangement. That was what I said in Prague, that it should not be the watchwords that are important but that there should be friendship between us. And that is what we were trying for, equally in the general discussions with the president, the premier, the chairman of the National Assembly, as well as in specific discussions between our ministers and individual ministers of Czechoslovakia. (?We talked) of both general European issues that unite us as well as very specific issues. In some, we (?put forward) the future course of work, in others, further considerations as it were, and in others still there are some (?fundamental) differences that remain. I am, of course, in particular referring to the ecological issue, (?the Stonava). Our position was very firm on this, and we expect that the government of Czechoslovakia is going to acknowledge here our very resolute position on this issue.

[Reporter] What has been achieved on the issue of the Polish national minority? So far this has been a fairly sensitive issue.

[Mazowiecki] Well, the most important thing is to restore the so-called local border traffic, and soon experts or people who specifically deal with this are to meet (?to start talks) on this so that this issue can be quickly brought to conclusion.

[Reporter] And what does the issue of economic cooperation look like?

[Mazowiecki] That is an issue where we have various contentious problems. [Words indistinct], for instance, the problem connected with nuclear power industry, (?we were not able to give any answers) concerning Zarnowiec, you see. But in general, we talked about changing, after a certain period of time next year, to convertible currency, about preparations for this change,

and about (?changing) to such relations, which to a great degree would amount to direct contacts between enterprises. [end recording]

Government Spokesman on Soviet Troops, Reform
LD1901213790 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT
19 Jan 90

[By Leszek Kubiak and Jan Rozdzyński]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—"We are not opening the issue of the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland," said government press spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska at a press conference here today answering a question by one of foreign correspondents on the government's stance on the issue in the context of Lech Walesa's statement about the need to remove them by the end of the year and stressed this was Mr Walesa's stand.

The government press spokeswoman, member of the council of Ministers Minister Aleksander Hall, and undersecretary of state at the Finance Ministry Stefan Kawalec also spoke about Premier Mazowiecki's planned visit to Czechoslovakia, the need to speed up elections to local self-governments, the economic situation, and in particular a condition of the Polish zloty, protest actions, the so-called nomenklatura companies, the lifting of censorship, and draft amendments to the press law.

Will Elections to Self-Governments Break Apathy?

At the start of the press conference Malgorzata Niezabitowska said chances of carrying out an operation of radical economic reforms were growing. It is necessary, however, to overcome apathy and passiveness among rank-and-file people. That is why the premier put forward a proposal in the Sejm to considerably speed up elections to local self-governments. "On January 1, we started an economic revolution. Though it is peaceful it is not free from shock; however society maintains peace and self-control," said she.

Government Draft Law on Parties

Minister Hall stressed that unlike drafts put forward by deputies' clubs and groups of deputies the government draft unequivocally settles the issue of presence of political parties in state offices, army, militia and, what is the most significant, in factories.

Under the draft the functioning of party cells will be banned in these institutions. "If the draft was passed, this would close a wrong chapter in our history when one party led the entire social life," stressed hall. "It would be absurd if plants turned into a testing ground for various political organizations which often were in conflict," hall added.

Zloty is Strengthening

Kawalec said the Polish zloty was strengthening. He referred to assessments by the Finance Ministry and the Narodowy Bank Polski (NBP). "A barrier of demand has appeared, an epoch of free inclusion of all costs in prices has ended," said he.

There are no fears concerning the stability of the rate of exchange of the U.S. dollar against the Polish zloty. In the near future the rate of exchange will not be threatened, he added.

A growth rate of price rises in February will be radically lower than in January, said Kawalec. While speaking about the planned interest rate of credits he said it probably would not exceed a dozen or so per cent.

To support these arguments Niezabitowska quoted an excerpt from an interview granted to PAP by a high-ranking IMF official and she also spoke about significant items included in the so-called stabilization fund.

Premier's Visit to Prague

The spokeswoman said the Polish premier would go to Prague this coming Monday [22 January]. He will meet with the Czechoslovak president, prime minister and head of the parliament. Mazowiecki will also pay a visit to Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek and will meet with representatives of Polish milieu in Czechoslovakia.

The Polish prime minister will be accompanied by a group of experts who will take part in talks on the intensification of economic exchange, natural environment protection, including the coke plant in Stonava and the Odra River pollution, more autonomy for Czechoslovak Poland, the resumption of border traffic and increased tourism.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel is expected to pay a visit to Poland in a few days after the Polish premier's visit to Czechoslovakia.

We Renounce Retaliation

While answering a question referring to the premier's expose in the Sejm on Jan. 18, Niezabitowska stressed that there were many voices calling for "taking to account" previous ruling teams and individual persons who got hold of power in the past. However, the philosophy of the government is, as the premier said, to create the state of law and to renounce retaliation. It is obvious that in cases of violation of the law, the guilty will be punished. "We do not carry out political purges and do not take anyone to account. We want to stick to the concluded agreement," Niezabitowska said.

Referring to these issues, Minister Aleksander Hall said that the process of transformations needs consideration. While comparing Poland to other Eastern European countries we should refrain from adopting the point of view of a "race" and we also need not have any complexes in this respect.

"Nomenklatura" Companies

The government press spokesmen said that the control carried by the general prosecutor's office late last year revealed many examples of incorrectness in the work and filling the posts in 1,600 companies (10 per cent of the total). They were set up by some 700 directors of state enterprises, 550 presidents of cooperatives, 9 voivodes and 57 town mayors as well as many officials of party and vocational organizations. The Council of Ministers committed the minister of finance to issue an ordinance to control not only the finances of individual enterprises but also those of the "satellite" companies.

Protests

Niezabitowska said that no promises had been made during the talks between representatives of the government and the striking miners. "The government has not withdrawn from its stand that the larger pay fund must be worked out by the mines," she said.

Asked about other protests, Niezabitowska mentioned tensions in the postal services and the whole telecommunications sector and the protests of taxi-drivers.

Work on Draft Law on Ministry of Internal Affairs

While commenting on the advancement of work in the draft law, Niezabitowska said that at the present stage, the discussion concerns who is to supervise the activities of the office for the protection of the state (former security service): whether it is to be the president, the premier, the parliament or the minister of internal affairs. Minister Hall said that the nominations for the so-called consultative political councils of the ministry of national defence and Ministry of Internal Affairs are expected soon.

Lifting of Censorship

Work is underway on the bill on eliminating the office of censorship and on the draft amendments to the press law, Niezabitowska said. In line with these intentions, the preventive censorship would be lifted and its place would be taken by repressive censorship for periodicals and in exceptional cases for books, stage productions and films. Also other restraints of the press law would be mitigated.

Paper Comments on Transcaucasus 'Unrest'

LD1901134290 Warsaw PAP in English 1155 GMT
19 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—In a commentary headlined "Shots and time", the ZYCIE WARSZAWY today writes about the unrest in the Soviet Transcaucasus:

"The deployment of troops can lower tension, prevent bloodshed for some time, set up conditions for talks but does not solve the problem in a lasting way. It does not diminish contradictions and historical burdens which

lead to hostile action and violence, to resorting to force and rejection of rational thinking, and are the reason of blind and fanatical hatred.

"Peaceful attempts to solve problems in Transcaucasus have not brought about the expected results. The presence of troops quells then only for some time. One can oppose extortion, the enforcement of this or that move by the fighting street [as received]. One cannot however protract the solution of these problems, one cannot wait for the further escalation of tensions which would lead to an un-controlled explosion. Gorbachev and his team know this as do the opponents of perestroika. The shots in Transcaucasus go to show how much time has already been lost, how urgent is the need to introduce such changes in the functioning of the Soviet Federation which would allow increasingly flaring emotions to subside."

Rakowski Interviewed on Political Future

LD2001204390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Secretariat, by (Barbar Sampolska) in Gdansk on 20 January—live or recorded]

[Text] [(Sampolska)] We are in Gdansk today, in Gdansk, where your strongest opponents from Solidarity have their headquarters. One can see their headquarters from the window of the building in which we are now talking. From this window one can also see the shipyard cranes' dead tops, the shipyard that you in fact condemned to death.

[Rakowski] I am not a judge and I do not condemn anyone to death. I would like you to have a slightly different view of this. The shipyard was liquidated by a government decision. However, when it comes to the documentation on which this decision was based, [words indistinct] since I had taken over the post of prime minister. In fact, a year earlier there already existed a very thorough analysis of the shipyard's economic situation. There were then already discussions on the subject of its liquidation.

When it comes to how I feel in Gdansk, I feel very well here. I do not think that Gdansk is anyone's property, a property of some political group or of some professional group. I always come here with great pleasure because I like this city. Generally speaking, I like the Tricity [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] area. Its activity fascinates me. Also, I would not agree with the opinion that my greatest opponents are here, because all sorts of things happened in the past. In fact, I know that after my meeting with Mr Walesa, he was criticized here. Some contradictions from the past have mellowed, and today it would be difficult to agree with the opinion that my opponents are here.

[(Sampolska)] It is known that you are now trying to gain popularity or to create an impression of popularity in

order to become a candidate at the 11th congress for the post of first secretary. However, your competitors are not just anybody, but Tadeusz Fiszbach, at least [words indistinct] this name, and Leszek Miller. Could you tell us your opinion on these candidates, possible candidates?

[Rakowski] No, I cannot, because I think it is a matter for the congress to decide who should run and then who should be elected. I can only say that discussions on personal matters are a normal matter for every party. The more such things are discussed in public the better. Every politician, of course, tries to gain popularity. This is also understandable, although I must say that it is a matter less important to me. The most important thing is that the congress should take place in a climate which will make the creation of a leftist party truly possible. As far as my personal fate is concerned, this should take second or third place, because today this is not of such great importance any more.

Report on New Political Parties

AU2201145590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
20-21 Jan 90 p 4

['AG'-signed report: "Political Panorama"]

[Text] Today we are presenting and describing some more political organizations. These organizations are appearing virtually overnight and are constantly developing. We wish to continue to keep up with this process.

The Movement of Free Democrats [Ruch Wolnych Demokratow, RWD]

The RWD refers to the political traditions of the Union of Free Democrats, which was founded by Karol Glogowski in Warsaw on 30 November 1956, and was recognized by the Democratic Party. However, a mere 1 and 1/2 months later, the Democratic Party achieved the dissolution of the Union of Free Democrats, mainly because its members refused to recognize the leading role of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. In the 1960's, former members of the Union of Free Democrats aired their views in public, as a result of which they were arrested and some were even convicted during political trials.

The RWD's current program emerged between 1975 and 1976, during the debate on constitutional amendments in which former members of the Union of Free Democrats protested against some of the proposed amendments to the Constitution, including the one pertaining to the PZPR's leading role.

The RWD is linked with the democratic nonparliamentary opposition, independent of any other ideological or political organization. Right now it has about 100 members, regardless of ancestry, profession, wealth, social status, or worldview. The RWD describes itself as a liberal-democratic and anticapitalist organization, cooperating with the Lodz chapter of "Solidarity."

The RWD acts for the sake of perpetuating the independence and expansion of the sovereignty of the Polish Republic as the supreme political vehicle of the Polish nation which, regardless of changes in form and leadership, has been independent since 1918. The RWD is in favor of undertaking large-scale preparations for Poland's future membership in a united Europe, a Europe respecting the equality of all countries which it comprises. It favors a multiparty system of parliamentary democracy, local self-government, and all forms of self-management. In this regard, it recognizes the equality of all forms of ownership.

The RWD favors abolishing all unjustified privileges, erasing social differences, and providing everyone with equal opportunities for advancement. In this regard, the RWD is ready to undertake cooperation on a social and political level with all groups and institutions that wish to establish democracy in Poland, respect the principles of social justice and the right of all social strata to a dignified life, and display concern for those in the worst material situation.

The RWD advocates a broad forum of organizations, associations, movements, and members of the Polish democratic nonparliamentary opposition. It has its own publishing house called the Democratic Alternative Publishing House and has been issuing its own periodical, REFLEKSJE, since 1989.

Key activists are: Zbigniew Cybura, Karol Glogowski, Sejm Deputy Andrzej Kern (Citizens Parliamentary Club), Adam Plesnar, and Tadeusz Salisz.

The Polish Green Party [Polska Partia Zielonych, PPZ]

The Polish Green Party is an independent political party that protects the natural environment. It was founded in Krakow in 1988, but was not formally constituted until 24 June 1989, when its Programmatic Congress was held in Warsaw.

The party's basic documents are a statute, manifesto, and programmatic theses. The PPZ issues a weekly called the GAZETA ZIELONYCH [GREEN GAZETTE].

The PPZ's action program involves general environmental problems, with reference to life in the communities. In its political work, the PPZ aims to turn Poland into a country of permanent neutrality like Austria, without any foreign armies in the country, and on the basis of four-power guarantees. It calls for disarmament at a level that would guarantee the defense of neutrality, professional and voluntary military service, friendship with all countries in the world, and freedom of speech within the framework of commitments stemming from an acceptance of the principles of neutrality.

A neutral Poland, says the PPZ manifesto, may become an important component of European security and disarmament.

The PPZ wants a sovereign, independent, and law-governed Polish Republic, which will guarantee its citizens a dignified life and a happy future in their own country with a healthy environment. The party wishes to make Poland a democratic republic with a parliamentary system of rule. Dialogue and consultations are its basic *modus operandi*. It rejects the use of force and aggression.

The PPZ's leader is Janusz Bryczkowski, who is also one of its founders. Other National Board members are: Boguslaw Parwisiak from Lodz, Tibor Petrys from Krakow, Slawomir Olek from Olsztyn, Lucjan Dembowski from Bialystok, Czeslaw Borgiel from Kedzierzyn, and Hanna Lenarcinska from Lodz.

Commentary Urges 'East European Alliance'

AU1801205190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Jan 90 p 7

[Zdzislaw Najder commentary: "An East European Alliance"]

[Text] The changes that occurred in East Europe last year have also opened up possibilities for the post-communist states of East Europe to pursue a much more independent foreign policy, particularly in relations with their immediate neighbors. This has presented these states with the new problem: "What are they to do with this newfound freedom?" Now that the shackles of communism have been cast aside, and given the breakdown of bloc discipline, should they now go forward together, or should they go their own separate ways? The suggestion to create a Polish-Czechoslovak federation that was raised on 3 January 1990 by Zbigniew Brzezinski was an attempt to find the key to at least part of the answer. The project, however, met with skepticism from the respective foreign ministers, as well as from the leading historian specializing in this field, namely, Piotr Wandycz.

The debates during the CEMA session that ended on 10 December 1989 in Sofia amply illustrated the fact that finding a common language will be a very difficult thing for the six East European countries in question, namely, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Despite the lip service paid in the past to slogans about fraternal socialism, in reality each of these countries carried on its own separate existence. Mutual relations were almost without exception constricted by a straitjacket of official regulations. Contacts between Polish and Czechoslovak dissidents, for example, were quite exceptional and only involved the elites.

What currently strikes foreign analysts is the developing race between Warsaw and Prague and their respective endeavors to secure foreign assistance, new loans, and investments. The Hungarians have been the most successful in this field to date, as witnessed, for example, by the recently signed agreement for the construction of a huge automobile plant with the Japanese firm Suzuki. The GDR has a privileged position in this race and is the least concerned about cooperating with its neighbors to

the south and east. They are happy with their position as the largest USSR trading partner and, through their connection with the FRG, being a shadow member of the EEC. All other countries are in a much worse situation, and each country would like to obtain the greatest possible advantage and understanding. This situation, however, is changing very rapidly. In December, the London based *ECONOMIST* published a special issue entitled: "The World in 1990." The issue contains a chapter devoted to East Europe—chapter which is already 50 percent out of date, for in the intervening period Poland has overtaken the Hungarians in the extent of its economic reforms; Bulgaria has rid itself of Zhivkov; Romania has toppled Ceausescu; and in Prague there has been a change of government....

The meeting in Sofia confirmed the fact that the post-communist future will be full of difficulties and traps. All the participants expressed a desire to see a rapid reconstruction of the current CEMA structure into a much looser and more effective mechanism. All participants wanted more freedom in bilateral and multilateral relations. Everyone pointed to the inefficiency of the existing agreements and links. Nevertheless, all these countries have to remember that in the last few years all growth in trade that occurred in CEMA was due to intrabloc trade. From 1984 to 1989, the volume of CEMA trade with the EEC fell by 50 percent. This withdrawal into one's own closed circle was linked with increasing technological backwardness. CEMA served as the vehicle for trading in unwanted goods and perpetuated technological backwardness, inefficiency, and sheer economic nonsense. Nevertheless, trade between CEMA countries, although economically without any great significance, will be easier than trade with more developed countries.

This is but one of the paradoxes facing the countries of East and Central Europe. Another such paradox is the strikingly unequal development of the internal political situation within each country. Nonetheless, the geographical location and the mutual fate of the countries now in the stages of freeing themselves from the shackles of communism, and, additionally, the figure of 96 million people, force one to think of mutual cooperation and the possibility of pooling forces. It is completely natural that the old projects and dreams of federation are being revived, but one has to remember that they are being revived in completely different circumstances. The past regional alliances and plans of federation had a defensive character and addressed a common danger, for example, the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania in the period from 1920 to 1936), against the Hungarians; and the project of a Polish-Czechoslovak federation against the Germans (Benes broke off the talks in 1943 because Stalin felt the plan was aimed against the Soviet Union). We now have to think of the positive aims.

But how to achieve closer cooperation? Because Poland is the largest country in the region, it follows that it

should take the initiative. However, its size—it has the same number of inhabitants as the combined populations of the next two largest countries, namely Romania and Czechoslovakia—could prove to be a stumbling block, and any initiatives in this direction by the Polish Government may be seen as a desire to dominate or to exploit. This is especially the case since Poland is in the throes of a great and risky economic experiment. Our possible future partners are justifiably afraid that the Poles might want to burden them with some of the costs of the Polish experiment. That is why, in my opinion, it would be valuable and worthwhile to follow up the surprise suggestion made on 9 January 1990 by Peter Medgyessy, the Hungarian deputy premier, calling on Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia to form an "integrated economic group" of the countries which are in the process of changing to market economies.

Right now no one can categorically state whether the economic interest and which particular mutual economic interests will hold the countries of East and Central Europe together. In each of these countries the present state of the economy is so murky that it is difficult to know what is worth doing and what is not. In such a situation each country is first trying to look after itself, and the stronger that country feels, the less enthusiastic is it to tie itself to weaker partners. Today it is Romania which needs all the economic and political help it can get, but apart from the support declared by France—support given for sentimental reasons to a country with a Latin culture that finds itself furthest to the east of all the other European countries with a Latin culture—Romania will mainly have to rely on its chief asset of having few debts. Its situation is further complicated by the problem of the several-million-strong Hungarian minority, which has suffered particularly severe persecution for many years.

One way or the other, it is the favorable sentiments of the peoples involved rather than official government decisions that are more instrumental in the formation of federations, alliances, or even cooperative ventures, which are to be based on something more substantial than a transient set of circumstances. This point was highlighted by Edward Raczynski, who, speaking on Radio Free Europe, called for the need to overcome the legacy of wrongs and resentments in Polish-Czechoslovak relations. That is why today's opportunity for organizations and various circles to cooperate with one another is so important. For example, the Romanian students who are trying to form their own independent union are appealing for help and advice. So far only the French have reacted. May one ask what our Independent Students Union is doing about this?

In September 1980, the first "Solidarity" congress passed the now famous "Message to the Working People of Eastern Europe." This act provoked a storm of protest, and "Solidarity" was accused of inciting a counterrevolution. Today in East Europe the counterrevolution is a thing of the past. In the "Solidarity" message we read: "We support all those who have decided to embark

on the difficult road of struggle for an independent trade union movement. We believe that soon our representatives and your representatives will be able to meet with a view to sharing trade union experiences."

This "soon," lasted over 9 years. But now the time has come for "Solidarity" to begin cooperating with the entire Polish society, with the societies and trade unions emerging to find freedom in our part of Europe. This is an essential precondition and may yet prove to be the basis of any future confederations.

Inactivity on our part will be the most damaging. The year 1990 looks like it will be a decisive year for the future of the Soviet Union, and for the smaller states of

eastern Europe it is seen as the year that will further shape the new internal and international order, whose foundations were laid in 1989. This should not be the year of elemental upheaval, but one of planned action. In his New Year's address, President Mitterrand put forward a plan for a future European federation which would embrace all European countries that adopt a system of parliamentary democracy. I think that it would not be a good omen for the future if such plans, which are of vital concern to us, are advanced without our input. If concerted, not separate, action is more profitable—and there is no doubt that in the long run it will prove to be so—then we should get on with this task immediately, without waiting for an external stimulus.

Investigation of Former Top Officials Continues

AU1901194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1725 GMT 19 Jan 90

["'The Big Ones' Are Being Investigated"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—Romania's Prosecutor-General Gheorghe Robu, in an interview with "ADEVARUL," shows that the list of Ceausescu's high ranking officials now in custody for investigation includes: Emil Bobu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Constantin Dascalescu, Ion Dinca, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovic Fazekas, Ilie Matei, Manea Manescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Barbu Petrescu, Dumitru Popescu, Ion Radoi, Gheorghe Radulescu, Ioan Totu, Stefan Andrei, Nicu Ceausescu, Silviu Curticeanu, Carol Dima, Mihai Gere, Suzana Gadea, Nicolae Giosan, Ana Muresan, Cornel Pacoste, Tudor Postelnicu, Ion Stoian, Vasile Barbulescu, Constantin Radu. Adding to them are other family members who did not hold high offices, such as Zoe and Valentin Ceausescu.

The prosecutor-general says that most of the defendants are cooperative, meaning that they are pretty sincere. One point should be made here, namely that the majority of them require that other persons be brought beside them, hence arrested and investigated.

On some rumours that Zoe Ceausescu would have been on a "hunger strike," Mr Robu said: It was not what you may call a hunger strike, in the early days of her arrest she was just choosy about her "comfort" in custody, and in the name of those claims she only accepted to drink coffee and to smoke. When she was told that she lived in exactly the same conditions the Romanian people did, not in those used by the dictator to detain his subjects, Zoe became more reasonable.

"The little prince" (Nicu Ceausescu), said the prosecutor-general, feigns an off-hand manner. He is the self-proclaimed... chief of the people in custody. This is a role that he seems to like and that fits him perfectly. The other defendants recognize his authority—a reflex of their one-time subservience.

Asked if it was true that the personnel of the Institute of Atomic Physics had written a collective memoire pleading that Valentin Ceausescu be pardoned or given extenuating circumstances, Gheorghe Robu said: "A delegation of that institute came to tell us that Valentin did much for the institute in terms of equipment. They were told that the fact, which was actually due to his privilege position as a family member, was irrelevant for the criminal proceedings, and that to alleviate the position of the defendant such evidence could be brought in court.

Mr Robu also said that Ion Dinca was the most relevant case of repentance. He is crying all the time and says he deeply regrets what he did. He keeps saying: "No punishment in the world is harsh enough for what I did."

Former Top Ceausescu Aides Go on Trial 27 Jan

AU2301103490 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Flash news provided exclusively for the "Radio Current Events" program by Mr Teofil Pop, minister of justice: The first trial of the acolytes of the Ceausescu clan—Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, and Manea Manescu—will be held on Saturday, 27 January 1990.

More on Upcoming Trial

AU2201215190 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2000 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Today Romania's Prosecutor General Gheorghe Radu made the following statement to ROMPRES:

Through an indictment issued by the General Prosecutor's Office and Directorate of the Military Prosecutor's Offices on 22 January 1990, it has been decided to start legal proceedings against and put under preventive arrest the following people: Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, and Manea Manescu. They are accused of complicity in the crime of genocide, as stipulated by Article 357—letters A and B—of the Penal Code, and should be given appropriate punishment.

To sum up, the indictment points out that—through their attitude at the meetings of the Political Executive Committee on 17 and 22 December 1989 and through various concrete actions taken by each one of them—the accused Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, and Manea Manescu, in their capacity as members of the former Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, and Tudor Postelnicu, in his capacity as candidate member of the same committee and former minister of interior, helped the dictators Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu implement the orders to use armed force to repress the people's uprisings in Timisoara, Bucharest, and other cities around the country. The accused endorsed and took steps to implement the tyrants' criminal orders to fire point-blank into the masses of demonstrators, using automatic weapons and sniper rifles. As a result of these orders, the forces of repression killed many people who rose to fight for freedom, democracy, dignity, an end to oppression, the removal of the dictatorship, and the adoption of immediate measures for national salvation.

The indictment charged the Bucharest Territorial Tribunal—the competent judicial body according to the law—to try the accused. In keeping with Penal Code procedural stipulations, the judicial body will decide on summoning the accused to court to answer charges in a public trial.

We are able, Romania's prosecutor general said, to ensure that all those who infringed upon the Romanian people's rights, freedoms, and dignity will be investigated and put on trial, so as to be punished in accordance with their guilt. No guilty person will avoid punishment

under the law. However, the establishment of the truth for each concrete case requires hard work, which must be carried out in full accordance with the law. That is why we now ask all citizens to have patience and to trust us, so that the Prosecutor's Office and the police can fulfill their legal duties and ensure a thorough and in-depth investigation of the guilty persons.

Students Hold Rally, Meet Education Minister

AU2201180990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1715 GMT 22 Jan 90

["News Flash"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—Several thousands of Bucharest high school pupils met in the Romana Square, in the heart of the capital, on the morning of January 22, then making for the building of the Ministry of Education.

The pupils request some changes in the structure of high-school training, most important of them being renunciation of the examination for the high-school second stage—after the graduation of the tenth form, and more exigency on the high-school leaving examination.

The same afternoon, the minister of instruction, Mr Mihai Sora, started discussions with pupils' representatives at the ministry's headquarters.

Further on Rally

AU2201213990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1956 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Pupils' Demonstration"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—Almost one thousand Bucharest pupils demonstrated on January 22 in front of the Ministry of Instruction's building. They conveyed the Romanian high-school pupils' platform-program which the ministry assessed to reflect, in most of its points, a high maturity of the pupils willingness to learn.

A more thorny item was the organization of the tenth form graduation and promotion to the eleventh, on which the views differed. The ministry will analyze the whole package of proposals in a widely democratic framework and will publicize its decision soon.

Doina Cornea Reportedly Quits NSF

AU2301132490 Paris AFP in English 1302 GMT
22 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels, Jan 23 (AFP)—Former Romanian dissident Doina Cornea has quit the country's ruling National Salvation Front because she believes it will become a political party, a Belgian MP said quoted by the BELGA news agency Tuesday.

Mrs. Cornea, who suffered years of persecution for her opposition to the Ceausescu regime, announced her decision outside the Communist Party headquarters at Cluj, where she lives in northwestern Romania, according to the member of a Belgian parliamentary delegation visiting Romania.

The Front seized power when Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu fled on December 22.

Government Cites New Foreign Policy Priorities

AU2201165590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1241 GMT 22 Jan 90

["A New Foreign Policy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—The December revolution has marked a turning point in the realm of foreign policy as well, a reorientation towards new directions now being outlined. The latest statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows that "Romania was and is a European country," that the Romanian people have always wished to develop friendly, cooperative relations with all the European countries to which they are linked by common history and civilization. The programme of the National Salvation Front (NSF), released on 23 December, stipulates that "the country's entire foreign policy should serve the promotion of good neighbourliness, friendship and peace worldwide, integrating itself in the process of building a United Europe, a common home for all the people of the continent."

One of the new directions of democratic Romania's foreign policy is renunciation of the policy pursued by the old dictatorial regime of disregarding the international pledges assumed, of keeping the country away from the process initiated by the Helsinki Final Act. Romania fully espouses this act and joins the all-European process. In this respect the aforementioned statement of the Foreign Affairs Ministry specifies that Romania withdraws the "interpretative reserves and statements" formulated, upon the order of the old regime, on 15 January 1989 in connection with the concluding document of the all-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Vienna and confirms Romania's acknowledgement of this document in its entirety.

The new government has firmly worked since the first days of the revolution along the path of an open foreign policy. "What is essential in our policy in the specific domain of foreign relations is a new openness, a rethinking, with our own minds, in the context of today's relations and in the realistic perspective of tomorrow's developments, of our place and role in the concert of the world nations," of the European nations, said Foreign Affairs Minister Sergiu Celac. That is why Romania sees all the plans and projects regarding the new European construction in an open and realistic manner, inspired by the wish to dignifiedly make its contribution to the building of a better European common home for everybody.

Another new direction is, as NSF Council President Ion Iliescu said in his new year message, Romania's observance of all international treaties and international organizations to which it is a party. In connection with the Warsaw Treaty, in consideration of the statements made so far by Foreign Ministry representatives, one may assess that Romania will remain faithful to this treaty, in a new manner as to that before the revolution. For Romania the treaty retains only its military function the ideological one disappearing with the revolution, as the late minister secretary of state Corneliu Bogdan showed.

The policy of real good neighbourliness shows in the phone talks representatives of the NSF had with neighbour heads of state, in the meetings and talks held in Bucharest with the Hungarian, French, Soviet, West German, Swedish, Greek foreign ministers, with parliamentarians and special envoys of Eastern and Western governments.

A fundamental reorientation can be noted in the civilized, genuinely humanistic approach to human rights, violated by the old regime. In this respect the very NSF programme stipulates explicitly that Romania will promote a foreign policy subordinated to the requirements and interests of the accomplishment of the human being, fully observing human rights and liberties, including the right to free movement.

Therefore, Romania will observe all the pledges assumed at the United Nations and other international organizations, governmental or nongovernmental, in the spirit of a broad openness to the world, of the promotion of a foreign policy of peace, disarmament and political and economic cooperation with all the states of the world, setting from respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual confidence, and freedom of option.

Deputy Labor Minister on New Wage System

AU2001223290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0940 GMT 20 Jan 90

["The Salary System"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—None of the provisions for salary cuts on arbitrary reasons—failure to fulfil the export plan, or to meet energy, fuel, raw and subsidiary material requirements, etc.—have been observed since 1 January, said Mr. Ispas Morega, deputy minister of labour and social security. In industry, the only wage-fixing criterion will be the marketable production—in enterprises, and physical production—in their departments, the salary system (direct, individual or team agreement) being correlated to technological specificity. In the other areas of the economy, salaries are linked to the indicators that measure the amount of work. All regulations for an unlimited cut in salaries, hence of a guaranteed income have been abolished. In exceptional cases, when production stops for reasons unrelated to personnel, 75 percent of the base salary shall

be paid for the whole period when there is no productive activity, and 100 percent of it for all other rights—child benefits, length-of-service bonus, etc.

Arbitrary limitations to extra pay for work in hard, hazardous conditions have also been removed. Mr. Morega said that in education, artistic, cultural, health, and other sociocultural units that had to make do with "self-financing" under the dictatorship, the decision was made that salaries be linked only to the fulfilment of the tasks. The limitation of the number of persons who can be promoted to classes 5, 6 and 7 has been abrogated as well as that of the number of workers who can be promoted to the last salary class. Of course, the minister said, promotion will not be automatic, it will take performance, hard work and competence into account.

The decision was also made that the persons dismissed before 22 December on political grounds and repatriated persons can be promoted to the class their skills recommend them for, within a month from their taking up the job. Moreover, these persons shall be given the uninterrupted length-of-service benefit.

All these regulations were the subject of decrees of the National Salvation Front's Council.

Iliescu on Current, Long-Term Issues

AU2101234090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2009 GMT 21 Jan 90

["Ion Iliescu on Current Romanian Issues"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/1/1990—During the meeting of Mr Ion Iliescu and other leaders of the National Salvation Front [NSF] with youth representatives, a number of opinions, orientations were expressed and questions were asked in connection with the current and long-term situation in Romania.

Mr Ion Iliescu said inter alia that today, more than ever, the basic problems of the nation should be in the focus: avoidance of chaos and disorder, the stability of the socioeconomic life, the unity of the people in a climate of real democracy.

In context, the youth is called upon to play an important role as binder of general interests—of the workers, peasants, intellectuals—in order to create a modern society, to promote the targets of a genuine and dynamic process in Romania.

Referring to the content and forms democracy would take in Romania, Mr Ion Iliescu pointed out that the mere existence of several parties in political confrontation was not an ideal model in any historical context. Evidence stands the fact that in the past the existence of several political formations made possible the advent of fascism in various countries.

Along history, nowadays included, the concept of democracy undergoes modifications, a permanent

change in relation with the very social and economic structures which are in turn in continual evolution. In the entire civilized world, the sectarian character, the promotion of the group interests of some political parties do not cover the broad sphere of the general interests of society.

Mr Iliescu spoke up against taking up an older or newer model of democracy stressing that Romania should promote a specifically Romanian democracy in actual consensus with realities in our country. The political, economic, social conditions in Romania have specific Romanian traits and require an approach and solution suitable to this particular situation expressed in the definitive break with the past. Henceforth, the idea of NSF and the NSF platform represent the most consistent alternative, concentrating the broadest spectrum of options, tendencies, and orientations.

Referring to questions related to the Front's policy on economic development, Mr Ion Iliescu showed that the NSF was for a powerful stimulation of all creative resources of the nation against global privatization and putting the entire economic system in the tow of foreign capital. Essential now is a modern, quality approach to the whole aggregate of problems: industry, agriculture, science, technology, etc.

Answering questions related to the participation of the NSF in the future elections, Mr Ion Iliescu expressed the idea that in the current political context it is but natural that the Front takes part in the electoral struggle, alongside the other parties, because it has a broad political platform, which expresses different positions and options, concentrated upon major interests of the Romanian society, able to assume fundamental responsibilities before the country.

Silviu Brucan on Front Plenary Session

PM2201155690 Paris LE MONDE in French
20 Jan 90 p 5

[Sylvie Kauffmann dispatch: "No Referendum on Restoration of Death Penalty and Banning of Communist Party"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In the best tradition of communist apparatuses, Silviu Brucan, former Romanian Communist Party theoretician who became an opponent to Nicolae Ceausescu two years ago and who is now one of the four main leaders of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, gave a partial and ambiguous account to the foreign press on Thursday, 18 January, of the Council plenum, which had taken place behind closed doors the previous day.

Bucharest—The plenary session of the NSF Council held on 17 January, Mr Brucan confirmed, decided to annul the decrees issued on 12 January, under pressure from demonstrators, outlawing the Communist Party and promising a referendum on the reintroduction of the death penalty. There will, therefore, be no referendum

on these two questions. The Council's other decisions on the transfer of the Communist Party's funds to the state "because the Communist Party has ended its activity de facto the annulling of measures to eliminate 300 communes and villages, and, finally, the principles of the new electoral law which will govern the free election of the president of the republic and a future parliament, were adopted. (Footnote) (The party property transferred to the state, Mr Brucan specified, includes 21 palaces and 41 villas belonging to the Ceausescu couple; 50,000 hectares of agricultural land run by 45 units employing 18,000 people and producing 40,000 tonnes of meat, 20,000 tonnes of milk, and 40 million eggs.... Finally, the Carpati import-export company which had a profit equivalent to two billion dollars at the official rate).

This bill will be published "very soon." It is based on the separation of powers, Mr Brucan said, and makes provision for anybody supported by at least 251 voters to run in elections. There will be a direct, secret, and free ballot. Some options will be open to discussion—whether to have one or two houses of parliament, the direct or indirect election of the president of the republic, voting for a single candidate or a list of candidates; finally, should parliament be turned into a constituent assembly for 6 months and should the Army be represented in parliament? Mr Brucan said that the date of the elections will be discussed during consultations with the political parties.

"A Senile Old Man"

Until then, everything was relatively clear. Things became more confused when Mr Brucan reported the statements of other leadership members on the circumstances in which they allowed themselves to commit "a serious political mistake" by issuing the scandalous decrees of 12 January. That had all the aspects of good self-criticism with Dumitru Mazilu, number two in the NSF Council, whose position has become very fragile since then, admitting that he "had, when speaking into the microphone, too readily taken up the crowd's slogans without managing to calm them down." "With tension mounting, I gave in to demands for new legislation and I even drafted texts which were contrary to the Front's ideas," Mr Mazilu apparently said. "I therefore consider myself to be more guilty than my colleagues." Prime Minister Petre Roman, also according to Mr Brucan, "fully assumed responsibility for the political mistake of 12 January." "After successive appearance before the crowd," Mr Roman apparently told the NSF Council, "I withdrew with Mr Mazilu and we drafted a document defining the Front's position on the Communist Party. If that document had been left as it was, there would have been no problem. Unfortunately, Mazilu redrafted the text and turned it into a decree. Iliescu (the number one—LE MONDE editor's note) and I associated ourselves with that text, which led to this unacceptable political mistake."

In other words, the person responsible for the disastrous blunder of the 12 January decrees was Mr Mazilu, who is being attacked by an element of the Romanian press.

However, the matter became more complicated when, after that press conference, Adrian Sirbu, one of Mr Roman's aides responsible for the Front's contacts with the press, spoke to a group of journalists and denied the version given by Mr Brucan. Mr Roman, he stated, did not "charge" Mr Mazilu in front of the NSF Council, and it is the communique due to be read on television in the evening which is the reliable version.

Mysteries

Why, he was then asked, did Mr Brucan give such a personal account of that episode? "He is a senile old man who allowed himself to be carried away," he retorted. Indeed, on television that evening, the communique reporting the plenum simply stated that Mr Roman had said that he "shares responsibility for the political mistake" and that "unfortunately," the text which he had drafted on the Front's position on the Communist Party "was turned into a decree."

The Mazilu mystery seems to be deepening and is accompanied by a Brucan mystery. Why is the Front keeping Mr Mazilu in the leadership team if it allows him to be attacked every day? What is the role of Mr Brucan, a man who is regarded as intelligent, and even wily, who is regarded as the Front's "brains," but whose official functions are those of chairman of the international relations commission and who does not conceal his sympathies for Gorbachevism? This leadership is clearly not showing completely blissful unity although one man emerges from this affair more or less unscathed and spared by the various accounts—Ion Iliescu, chairman of the NSF Council, whose authority seems to be fairly firmly established.

In addition, Mr Brucan refused to give any explanation on the number of participants at the Council's session or on the meeting of the NSF Council Executive Bureau which was apparently held on Thursday morning in a rather tense atmosphere. However, a detail given by Mr Brucan tends to confirm that the decision-making process within the Council was disputed during the plenum: Henceforth, he said, "all decrees presenting political problems of principle will only be final after consultation with the NSF Council."

Radio Free Europe Interviews Brucan on RCP

AU1801194090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1810 GMT 18 Jan 90

["Silviu Brucan: 'The RCP Will Not Survive'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/1/1990—In an interview granted to the radio station "Europa Libera" (Free Europe), Mr Silviu Brucan, member of the National

Salvation Front Council, said he was no longer a communist. "They excluded me from the party long ago," he showed and explained that he had not formally withdrawn from the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] because it was obvious that the only possibility to make changes in Romania was through the party. Brucan pointed out that he had tried twice to organize an opposition to Nicolae Ceausescu within the party but he had failed. He recalled that two years ago at a scientific seminar in the United States he had read a paper on the crisis of the Communist Party and had shown that it was an anachronistic political organization, unsuitable to modern times, even there where its leaders made reforms. "I believe that certain humanistic values of socialism will survive, but the RCP will not," Silviu Brucan ended up.

REUTER Interviews Economy Minister

AU2001165190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0816 GMT 20 Jan 90

["In Connection With an Interview With the Romanian Minister of National Economy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—The Ministry of National Economy Spokesman, Mircea Pirjol, told the ROMPRES News Agency a few things in connection with an interview of the minister of the national economy, Victor Stanculescu, with REUTERS correspondent.

On foreign credits, the spokesman said, reference was made in the said interview to the geographical area of potential creditors, which extends from Japan in the Far East to the United States in the West.

The repayment of the country's foreign debt under the dictatorship was done at a high cost with sacrifices and privations being imposed on the population, which was said in the interview.

On the role of the Ministry of National Economy, Mr. Stanculescu said that the ministry did not make decisions in its capacity as chief administrator of the economy, and that its decisions are the fruit of consensus, of an agreement of all responsible bodies, which is in sharp contrast with the old system of management and planning.

Chief of Staff Interviewed on Army's Role

AU1701134290 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 9 Jan 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Ionel Vasile, Army chief of staff and deputy minister of national defense, by Gyorgy Keleti, head of the press department of the Hungarian Ministry of Defense, in Bucharest; date not given: "Ceausescu Has Never Trusted the Army"]

[Text] Colonel Gyorgy Keleti visited Bucharest last week. The visit provided an opportunity for him to hand a message sent by Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati to

his Romanian colleague, Army General Militaru. Gyorgy Keleti was received by Ionel Vasile. The talks between the Romanian chief of staff and the personal emissary of the Hungarian defense minister was recorded with the agreement of the host, and we are now publishing an edited version of this tape.

[Keleti] What was the view of the military commanders about the chronology of events and the role of the Army in the development of events?

[Vasile] Our revolution erupted in spontaneously. Dissatisfaction among the people—as well as in the Army—became so great that people were no longer willing to tolerate things. The people rebelled. Everything began in Temesvar [Timisoara] on 16 December. The people of our country, in other countries, learned about what had really happened from foreign radio stations, rather than from the Romanian press. A higher level of combat readiness was ordered within the Army on 17 December, and Nicolae Ceausescu himself was the chief commander of the Army. This readiness meant that the soldiers were ordered into their barracks and then the Army had orders to deploy in the streets “in order to restore and guarantee order.” Ceausescu ordered the Army “to shoot if it was necessary.” The forces that shot into the demonstrators in Temesvar were not Army forces, but terrorists dressed in civilian clothes or even in army uniforms. As a result, for some time, people felt hatred toward the Army. However, when things cleared up, people saw that soldiers were not shooting into the demonstrators, and there were no clashes between the people and the Army. On the contrary, civilians mounted on Army vehicles and headed together with the soldiers to occupy the places which the Army was ordered to secure “in order to regain order.”

[Keleti] They shouted together with the soldiers that the Army was on the side of the people....

[Vasile] Indeed, they wrote on the tanks: The Army is with us!

Back to the chronology of events: When Ceausescu returned from Iran, he ordered a mass rally in Bucharest aimed at demonstrating that the people were against the events in Temesvar and supported him. However, this rally turned into a demonstration. The masses did not shout the slogans to cheer him, but shouted: Down with the dictatorship. The people did not disperse from the Palace Square, which is the Central Committee square, even after Ceausescu disappeared from the balcony. The Securitate tried to disperse the masses, but the people gathered again on the square. On the night of 21-22 December, the Army got orders to occupy the strategic places in Bucharest and to close the road leading to Palace Square and the Central Committee, after the Securitate had learned that a large demonstration was planned against Ceausescu the next day. On the morning of 22 December, people gathered in various districts in Bucharest and started marching toward the city center. Workers coming out of their factories joined the

marching masses. With hastily prepared slogans, mainly “Down with Ceausescu” and with the tricolor national flags, the columns of demonstrators headed toward the Palace Square. Nobody stopped them. The Army opened the way, and the demonstrators, mostly young people, kept shouting: The Army is with us, the Army is with us! Ceausescu realized that he had to run. This was the victory of the revolution.

However, on the evening of 22 December, Securitate units deployed for the personal security of Ceausescu began to attack the Central Committee building, the radio, the television, the central post office, and other extremely important objectives, and the ministries. At that moment, the task of the Army changed: It had to fight against them. This night was the most difficult one. With diminishing force, and temporary flare-ups, the fighting continued in the following days.

[Keleti] Thus, you regard the night of 22-23 December as the critical moment of the revolution?

[Vasile] Yes, because the armed struggle in fact began on this night. Seen from the outside, perhaps it appeared more critical. From within, it was not so difficult, because it was clear that it is impossible to defeat the Army, and the people were also convinced that this revolution could no longer be defeated. This was proved by the fact that people responded to the appeal to defend the television, the radio, and the various institutions. People were coming irrespective of the danger threatening them. This was a special situation. On this night, there was also fighting between Securitate units and the Army in other towns in the country, like in Sibiu and Brasov. However, I must also say that not all the Securitate units kept fighting, and some Securitate troops switched to the people's side. Forces specially trained against terrorism, or better said, specially trained for terrorism, were fighting against us. These forces carried out the massacres and shot into the masses.

[Keleti] What was the size of these specially trained Securitate units?

[Vasile] They must number a few thousand people.

[Keleti] What were the relations between the Army and the Securitate in the past?

[Vasile] The Securitate units were Ceausescu's favorites. They had everything, modern technology and weapons, as well as special military training. They never participated in construction works, while more than 60,000 Army soldiers worked at construction projects at the canals, in the mines, in energy supply, and in every place that needed cheap manpower. Both officers and soldiers worked on these projects. Therefore, Ceausescu never trusted the Army. There were no contacts between the higher commands of the Army and the Securitate either, but, through their agents, the Securitate knew everything that was happening in the Army, and thus, all those who became unpleasant were always removed from the Army.

[Keleti] I would like to ask you about a sad event, namely the circumstances of defense minister Milea's death.

[Vasile] As a direct subordinate of Ceausescu, Colonel General Milea was obliged to convey the orders he received from the dictator. An order issued on 22 December said that he should shoot into the masses and break up the demonstration. Milea refused to carry out this order, and therefore, he was declared a traitor, and this led to his tragedy. Milea was a great patriot, and acted as a hero. He left the following message to his family: "I die because I refused to carry out an order to shoot the people." The new leadership promoted him post mortem Army general, and members of the National Salvation Front Council, heads of the Defense Ministry, generals, and officers all participated in his funeral held in his native village.

[Keleti] What is the situation now with the Securitate men?

[Vasile] Ceausescu's personal guards, certain heads of the Securitate, and quite a few of the specially trained Securitate members are under arrest and tightly guarded. They are now being interrogated. They will be punished in accordance with their crimes, and according to the law. Besides, units belonging to the Defense Ministry helped in arresting these people, but their detention and trial falls within the jurisdiction of the Public Prosecutor's Office. Naturally, there are still people whom we could not catch. In principle, one can even imagine that they would try to escape via Hungary. There are also constant contacts between the Romanian and Hungarian border police in this respect, and we greatly appreciate this help.

[Keleti] All through the revolution, there have been close contacts between the Hungarian and Romanian military leaders. What do you think about our attempts to maintain contacts from the first moment and to provide assistance?

[Vasile] We appreciate this help as an expression of your friendship—support for our people in its revolution, and the recognition of our Army. We thank you not only for your moral support, but also for the humanitarian and financial support. We greatly appreciate all this.

[Keleti] You also know that the contacts between the two armies have always been better than the contacts between our political leaders. We have always endeavored to have constant contacts between the military leaders to the benefit of our peoples, and we also noticed such efforts from your side. We think that there are now opportunities to further improve these contacts. What do you think about the future contacts between the Hungarian People's Army and the Romanian Army?

[Vasile] You are absolutely right: The contacts between our Armies were good, although—as President Ion Iliescu also told your foreign minister—the relations between our two countries were deliberately spoiled. However, you could see that our Army did not follow

Ceausescu's line. It was very good that you immediately took a stand and asked for realistic information on the events, because thus, you had the opportunity to convey the information that Hungary was under no threat coming from Romania, irrespective of what was going on in our country. As to the future, our Army supports the policy of the National Salvation Front, and, according to this policy, we must strengthen cooperation with our neighbors and with all friendly countries. From now on, our contacts are in harmony with the political demands and the concepts of our highest leadership. We must do everything in our power to develop full understanding and confidence between our peoples. The main task of our Armies is to defend our own countries within the existing borders, and to be able to support each other if someone attacks us. This is how I see the future, and this is the way we would like to develop our contacts.

[Keleti] As I have seen here in Bucharest, for the time being, your Army has many other tasks to fulfill. For example, the Foreign Ministry which is now housing the various state administration offices, or the Defense Ministry are surrounded by tanks and armored vehicles with soldiers guarding these buildings....

[Vasile] Indeed, it is still the task of the Army to guard the strategic institutions, and our units can still be found at major institutions, and they are still under increased alert. Thus, we succeeded in ensuring a relative calm within a short time and strengthening the people's confidence that the Army will defend them, and thus, make sure that life returns to normal. As you could see, the streets in Bucharest are full of people. In addition to burned-out buildings, candles remind us of what really happened. People are lighting candles in the memory of the fallen....

Decree on Transferring RCP Assets to State

*AU1901183690 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 2000 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Text] We now present a decree-law on transferring the assets of the former Romanian Communist Party [RCP] to the state.

During the Ceausescu dictatorship, the former RCP amassed material assets and monetary funds which gave it a strong economic backbone and practically placed the party outside the national economy. All the amassed economic means were used to serve the dictator, his clan, and the higher party nomenclature, as well as to achieve certain domestic and foreign political goals. Only the dictator and his family had 21 palaces and villas in Bucharest, and the area around it as well as 41 palaces, residential villas, and 22 hunting cabins in the country's counties.

From the country's agricultural complex, the RCP has taken some 55,000 hectares of agricultural land on which it organized 45 agroindustrial units, whose production was used exclusively to serve the interests of higher party bodies and their leadership. Aside from all that, the

former RCP had its own economic production enterprises, construction-assembly and transportation units, printing houses, tourism and service units, foreign trade enterprises, design institutes, and so forth. All these units belonged to the Carpati [Carpathians] Central Economic Office, staffed with more than 48,000 employees that earned about 16 billion lei annually in terms of commodity production, services, and sales. Considering this state of affairs as abnormal from a socioeconomic viewpoint, and in view of the fact that the former RCP—in the form and structure and with the internal mode of operation that existed during the Ceausescu dictatorship—has ceased to exist with the outbreak of the 22 December 1989 revolution, and that it is in the interest of the whole society to take over that party's assets, the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. All the assets of the former RCP are transferred to state ownership as assets of the whole nation. The assets that are passed into state ownership are: economic units; production and transportation means; all land, regardless of its purpose; buildings and their equipment; cultural-artistic assets; educational, health, and [word indistinct] institutions; sports, recreation, touristic, and other such bases; as well as any other material assets and monetary and currency funds, including the debt claims of the former RCP and its subordinated organizations and units, regardless of their date or origin.

Article 2. The identification and transfer to state ownership of the economic units, institutions, assets, and monetary and currency funds stipulated by Article 1 will be the responsibility of a commission to be set up by the government. The commission will consist of experts from the spheres of economy, finances, transportations, public health, education, and other sectors of activity, depending on the nature of the assets to be taken over. The transfer will take place on the basis of a balance sheet to be drawn up by each separate unit, in accordance with the law.

Article 3. The state will also take over those assets whose belonging to the patrimony of the former RCP will be established later, after the identification and transfer stipulated by Article 2.

Article 4. At the proposal of the commission set up in accordance with Article 2, the government will decide on the use of each category of assets transferred to state ownership and on the distribution of the transferred economic units and institutions into the subordination of various ministries and other specialized central and local bodies. Likewise, the government will reintroduce into public circulation the cultural and artistic assets of national interest.

Article 5. By 1 March 1990, the government will submit to the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council a report on the transfer to state ownership of assets that belonged to the former RCP and on the way in which these assets are to be used in the interest of the people. Likewise, the government will take steps to inform the public about

the value of assets transferred to state ownership in accordance with the present decree-law and about the way in which the main assets are used.

Article 6. The personnel of the economic units and institutions transferred to state ownership in accordance with the present decree-law will be considered as transferred in line of duty. The personnel transferred in line of duty, as well as the personnel laid off, will preserve 50 percent of its previous remuneration. Those persons who are laid off and who find jobs with other units within a period of 3 months will maintain seniority rights and preserve the rights arising from uninterrupted length of service in the same unit.

Personnel who fulfilled leading political tasks do not enjoy the rights stipulated by the provisions of the present article.

Decree-Laws on Layoffs, Postal Staff

*AU1601195990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1905 GMT 16 Jan 90*

["Decrees-Laws of the NSF Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/1/1990—A decree-law issued by the National Salvation Front Council specifies that in the units in which in the first quarter of 1990 the production process must be interrupted following the inappropriate technical and material conditions or the particularly low temperatures, only the strictly necessary personnel are to work for the maintenance, repair and control of the installations, machinery and equipment temporarily stopped, personnel that are to receive the base payment in their class.

In the case of the units in which the production process is temporarily interrupted, the personnel shall receive 75 percent of the base payment in their class as well as the other salary rights pertinent to the respective periods.

The decree-law stipulates among other things that the personnel considered by the management of the enterprises where the production process is interrupted as unnecessary in the unit shall stay at home, being given 50 percent of the base payment in their class.

The salaried staff benefits in the respective period of time by length of service and state child benefits in accordance with the rules in force.

This decree-law is applicable in the 1 January-31 March interval.

Another normative act provides for the granting of certain rights and facilities to the beneficiaries of transport, post and telecommunication services as well as to the personnel in the units under the Ministry of Transport.

So, the tourists organized in group through the youth tourism units shall benefit by a 25 percent tariff reduction with passenger trains, any class. The principle of free-of-charge railway transport extends to a larger category of citizens who work or whose family members work in this field.

The decree brings new regulations to the phone calls and telex communications abroad to which the 500 lei surtax is no longer applicable when having more than one call over a trimester, neither shall be higher tariffs for the length of talk or telex communication.

The mail and postal parcels exempted from customs charges shall be also exempted from the corresponding postage rates. This decree is applicable starting 1 January 1990. [passage omitted]

Higher Education Activities To Resume 15 Jan

AU1401195090 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0500 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Following consultations with students and teaching staff within the nationwide consultative commission on 11 and 12 January, the Ministry of Education decided the following concerning resumption of teaching activities in higher education institutions:

Teaching activity will be resumed in all higher education institutes on Monday, 15 January 1990. The winter exams session is an open session—that is, the students can sit for their exams once, either in the 26 January-14 February 1990 period or 26 January-1 March period 1990 for the final years, or during the second semester, at dates jointly agreed upon between series and groups of students and their teaching staff.

University projects for the first semester can also be delivered during the second semester and will not influence the students' presentation at exams for the respective discipline. Likewise, final reports on student performance at disciplines where exams are envisaged for the first semester can also be done in the second semester. The second semester begins on 15 February 1990. In the second semester of this university year, the disciplines envisaged in the current educational program are preserved, with the exception of social sciences.

The newly elected leadership bodies will reduce, wherever necessary, the number of attendance hours, in accordance with the specific requirements of each special field. This decision will be taken after careful consideration of the students' opinion. It has been suggested that the weekly program should not exceed 30 hours—that is five days per week. Social sciences will be taken out of the teaching program, except for certain disciplines in specialized institutes. The teaching of the newly introduced discipline, elements of democracy, will begin on 1 March 1990 and will be optional.

Students attendance at lectures and seminars will be optional, except for practical activities such as laboratories, projects, workshops, and so forth. The specific practice term for each discipline will be scheduled at the end of the second semester, after the exams session. The only exception will be pedagogical practice, where students' presence is absolutely necessary.

Issuance of New Regulations To Develop Tourism

AU2001203590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1838 GMT 20 Jan 90

["New Regulations in the Romanian Tourism"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—The victory of the popular revolution has opened the path for the development of modern tourism in Romania cancelling a number of measures taken by the old regime which virtually eliminated this activity. Today all foreign visitors who have a valid travel document can move freely and establish contacts with the Romanian citizens. The compulsory exchange of 10 dollars a day per tourist has been abrogated. As for a visa it can be obtained upon request at the Romanian Diplomatic Missions or consular offices or on the spot at any border crossing point.

Likewise, customs regulations concerning tourists' personal belongings and gifts have been revised.

It is forbidden to bring into this country armament, ammunition, toxic, radioactive and psychotropic substances, and drugs.

The transmitting-receiving sets brought in by foreign citizens for professional purposes are allowed on the basis of a customs declaration.

For a free and unhampered movement of motorists all gas stations provide the necessary quantities of fuel and lubricants paid for in lei got at exchange offices. The service stations and the specialized units of the Romanian Automobile Club grant technical assistance throughout the country.

Tourists and travellers can opt for any form of accommodation, with private persons included, in the settlements of tourist interest, in mountain and sea resorts, in spas.

As for currency exchange it is specified that there is no limit for the tourists from countries the currency of which is convertible.

As for the tourists from socialist countries, each country will establish, in keeping with its own laws, the amount of foreign currency its citizens can take abroad. According to Romanian laws, the foreign tourists can have with them when crossing the border the amount of 500 lei and their own exchange receipt, the difference to the full amount they are entitled to being covered by cheques.

To protect the Romanian currency the amount in lei unspent at the end of the sojourn, proved to have been exchanged in Romania at exchange desks, will be left in this country at the crossing point; the tourists receiving a receipt on the basis of which they are to get the equivalent in foreign currency. No foreign citizen can leave Romania with Romanian money.

Democratic Party Leader on Political Goals

AU1901194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1720 GMT 19 Jan 90

["The Political Parties Introduce Themselves"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] "Even if there is a tradition"—Mr Cristian Butusina, president of the National Democratic Party said in an interview for the daily "TINERETUL LIBER"—"our party starts afresh concentrating on current realities in Romania and wants to represent workers, peasants and intellectuals alike. The activity of the party avoids any rigid ideology, taking up good experiences proven as such worldwide."

The party relies on principles which can make up a "doctrine of truth and honest soul": ethic, communal, national, ecologic principles, the principle of value, the national referendum and democratic mechanism.

The president of the National Democratic Party stated for an open and constructive dialogue with all newly-created parties.

Meeting of Ethnic Germans in Timisoara

AU1301195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0958 GMT 13 Jan 90

["Meeting of the German Minority in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/01/1990—A meeting of representatives of the German minority in Romania was held in Timisoara a few days ago. Represented to that meeting, besides the host town, were the localities of Sibiu, Arad, Resita, Bucharest, Satu-Mare, Cluj, Brasov, Baia Mare, Medias, Focsani and Lugoj. The meeting was chaired by Professor Erich Pfaff, chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Germans' Democratic Front of Romania.

The talks centered on education and the sociocultural area. Inter alia, the participants requested that young teachers, physicians and engineers of German nationality be assigned jobs in the towns with a dense German population as many of them are now working in other localities and that, when assigning jobs to graduates, account be taken of their nationality so that they may not stray away from the community to which they belong.

Other proposals referred to the creation of radio and television broadcasts in German.

Hungarian Participation in Leadership Urged

LD1501133990 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] MAGYAR SZO in Romania urges that Magyarhood should get a bigger role in national leadership.

The peoples of Romania fought the revolution together. However, there is no Hungarian minister in the government. Moreover, there is barely one or two Hungarians in the leadership of various ministries, says the article.

The situation is similar in several local leading organs of Transylvania, too. The new, democratic Romania has to be built together and the participation of Hungarians in the leadership has to be ensured, including also the Defense, Interior, or the Foreign Ministries, writes MAGYAR SZO of Romania.

Soviet Ambassador Views Trade Prospects

AU1901153290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1340 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Prospects of Romanian-Soviet Collaboration"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—The Romanian revolution has opened broad avenues to the promotion of bilateral links. Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador in Bucharest stated in an interview for the daily "ADEVARUL," stressing that the Soviet Union is determined to develop the relations with Romania in all fields, upon sound, efficient and mutually advantageous bases.

Referring to the Soviet Government's resolve, in accord with the Romanian leaders, to fully honour the terms of the 1990 protocol, i.e. the delivery of five million tonnes of oil, eight billion cubic meters of natural gas, 5.65 billion kwh of electric energy, 4.2 million tonnes of iron ore, over one million tonnes of blast-furnace burden, coking coal, and other goods, the ambassador mentioned that the Soviet side concentrated on the additional demands of the Romanian leadership, supplying a number of goods in advance. He also said that the Soviet side was ready to considerably increase the volume of the frontier trade and to support the development of direct economic links with Romania of the Union's republics, of the Moldavian SSR and Ukraine in particular, and the links between various regions of the USSR and Romanian counties. As for science and technology, the expansion of collaboration is to be examined soon at a meeting of the Romanian and Soviet co-chairmen of the inter-government commission. Ambassador Tyazhelnikov also evinced the possibilities to develop contacts and collaboration in culture, tourism and other fields of mutual interest.

ADEVARUL on Romanian-U.S. Relations

AU1701143290 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
11 Jan p 6

[Article by R. Caplescu: "Rebuilt Bridges"]

[Text] Among the good news that our press cannot possibly include enough of in its pages these days, the one that attracts the greatest attention is directly connected with Romanian-American relations: The abusive and one-sided action taken at the end of February 1988 by the dictatorial regime, the one by which Romania renounced most-favored-nation status, granted by the United States, was officially declared null and void. Certainly, renouncing that status was not the dictator's only disastrous foreign political decision. It was just one of many rash and reckless actions of an suicidal reasoning if one may say so, which led to Romania's almost total isolation in the international arena.

The motives behind this action lacking any sense are the same as the ones that directed—in the years of the "end of the reign"—the irrational behavior of the satrap, who feeling trapped, tried to put an impenetrable barrier between the country he considered as his own ranch and the rest of the world. The attempts made by the American side on the basis of the Jackson-Vanik amendment—which links the granting of the status to the East European countries to the insurance of people's freedom to travel—under conditions in which the general human rights situation concerning in Romania worsened increasingly, according to the orders of the dictator were presented as an "interference in domestic affairs," as a "nonobservance of the principles and norms of international relations," and others such things, although previously this amendment was implicitly accepted. It is true that it was accepted with an obvious lack of enthusiasm, but accepted nevertheless, by the signing of the Romanian-American trade agreement in 1975. In reality, behind the excuse, made with a rarely seen insolence toward the inalienable international law-governed norms—which were violated by the number one, in the most systematic and brutal manner—were the same obsessive fear of being called to account for the crimes committed against his own people and the same despot desire to act in accordance with his own wishes, without accounting for his actions to anybody—hidden neither within nor outside the country.

As a matter of fact, one should say that in the first years, the annual debates carried out in the U.S. Congress on status renewal made the dictator accept some of the "concessions" regarding human rights in Romania. However, right after the clause was renewed, he returned to the former abuse of human rights. The double game was clear to everybody. However, as it could be noticed, even with these partial and temporary "concessions," which were considered by the tyrant as "harmful" (to his boundless haughtiness and to his own interests and goals which had nothing to do with the people's interests), he then in the most arbitrary way possible simply decided to renounce the clause!

This was an act that brought about great damage to our country in economic, political, and other areas. This virtually meant for Romania an annual loss of hundreds of millions of dollars, primarily as a result of the increase of customs fees and tariffs. In general, not only have the Romanian-American exchanges stagnated, but they have even suffered serious set backs. In spite of the efforts made (in some cases without any personal risk) by some Romanian diplomats, and in spite of the well-meaning American diplomats, political relations have stagnated and been set back as well, as had been the case with other Western countries, and they registered one of the lowest levels in the post war period.

Now, when the abusive decision of the former dictatorship has been annulled and through the new democratic regulations regarding people's free travel, one may feel that we have all possible conditions for resuming the Romanian-American exchanges—free of the residues of the past—including the granting of most-favored-nation clause. The commercial agreement concluded between the two countries in 1975 is an important legal document which can facilitate this process. Certainly, it is good that sources at the U.S. State Department hailed Romania's declaration as "very good and very positive news."

The bridges of dialogue and cooperation with the West and with the other horizons of the world, that have been temporarily broken, are being rebuilt. The joy of restoring contacts is mutually shared.

Greek Foreign Minister Samaras on Official Visit

Arrives, Met by Celac

AU1901153490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1057 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Greek Foreign Minister Arrives in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—Upon the invitation of Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, the minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, Andonios Samaras, arrived in Bucharest, on Friday morning, for an official visit.

At the Otopeni Airport the guest was greeted by Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, by other officials.

Yeoryios Linardos, Greece's ambassador in Bucharest, was present.

Celac, Samaras Begin Talks

AU1901154090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1228 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Romanian-Hellenic Talks"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—Talks between the Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac and his Greek counterpart Andonios Samaras began in Bucharest on Friday, at noon.

The talks are attended by Mircea Mitran, deputy foreign minister, and Yeoryios Linardos, ambassador of Greece in Bucharest.

Samaras, Celac News Conference

*AU2001164790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0915 GMT 20 Jan 90*

["Andonis Samaras' Press Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/01/1990—"Romania's miracle is the miracle of its young people, who wiped out the shame of tyranny with their blood," said Mr. Andonis Samaras, minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, in a press conference held in Bucharest on 19 January.

"In both bilateral relations and the links with the European Economic Community, Greece will do its best to help Romania in its efforts for freedom, democracy and dignity" the Greek minister said.

"I believe that the rapprochement between our peoples on the basis of freedom and democracy will only be a catalyst in the development of a sincere, democratic dialogue between our two countries in the Balkans, helping us build a better world."

Answering a question referring to the impact of events in Romania over the relations among Balkan countries, the Greek foreign minister said that Romania's development along the path of freedom and democracy would stimulate a sincere, open dialogue not only between Greece and Romania, but also among Balkan countries and even throughout Europe."

During the same news conference, Sergiu Celac, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, said inter alia that Mr. Andonis Samaras and he talked about Romanian-Hellenic economic links, about Romania's immediate needs. He said Mr. Samaras showed a clear understanding of and great sympathy for the problems in Romania.

Samaras Ends Visit

*AU1901201190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1911 GMT 19 Jan 90*

["Hellenic Foreign Minister Concludes Romanian Visit"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—The minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, Andonios Samaras, concluded Friday evening his official visit to Romania.

The guest was seen off at Otopeni Airport by Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac and other officials.

Visit of Norwegian Foreign Ministry Official

Meets Mitran, Celac

*AU2001222090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1507 GMT 20 Jan 90*

["News Flash"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—In Romania as special envoy of the Norwegian Government, Knut Vollebak, minister, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, conducted talks with Mircea Mitran, deputy foreign minister of Romania, on Saturday, in Bucharest.

The talks were attended by Romanian and Norwegian officials and by Norway's charge d'affaires ad-interim in Bucharest, Lasse Sigurd Seim.

Next, the guest will meet Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, and the secretary of the National Salvation Front Council, Dan Martian.

Vollebak, Celac Hold Talks

*AU2001222190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1508 GMT 20 Jan 90*

["Sergiu Celac-Knut Vollebak Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—Saturday morning, Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac met Knut Vollebak, minister, secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, on a visit to Bucharest as special envoy of the Norwegian Government.

Martian Meets Vollebak

*AU2001221990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1517 GMT 20 Jan 90*

["Romanian-Norwegian Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—On Saturday, January 20, Dan Martian, secretary of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, received Knut Vollebak, minister secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry of Norway, special envoy of the Norwegian Government.

The Norwegian minister also had an interview with Bogdan Teodoriu, chairman of the NSF's Commission for Reconstruction and Development.

In a statement to the Romanian press, the Norwegian minister underscored the interest the Norwegian people took in the course of the people's revolution in Romania, as well as its solidarity with the Romanian people in its present efforts for the country's reconstruction and development. Referring to his talks in Bucharest he said that under the current circumstances broad prospects opened for a growing cooperation between Romania and Norway on both the political and economic planes. The Norwegian minister also said his country's government

had decided to immediately reopen Norway's Embassy in Bucharest. Answering a question he said Romanian citizens wishing to visit Norway needed no entrance visa.

Interview With Spanish Foreign Ministry Official

*AU1801095190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0919 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[“An Interview by the Minister Secretary of State of Spain's Foreign Ministry”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/01/1990—In an interview granted to the special envoy in Madrid of the Free Romanian Radiotelevision, Mr. Fernando Porpinia Robert, minister secretary of state of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Spain, made a point of stressing that Spain had received with great interest and sympathy the Romanians' popular revolution.

The Spanish Government, he said, most sympathetically welcomes the Romanian people's current efforts to establish a democratic and pluralist system based on the observance of human rights and freedoms.

The Spanish authorities immediately conveyed their support to and solidarity with the political forces governing Romania and the Spanish minister of foreign affairs wishes very much to be able to visit Romania the soonest in order to establish direct contact with the Bucharest authorities.

Spain is optimistic about the future of the bilateral economic relations, F.P. Robert stated. We will encourage Spanish firms to make an effort to intensify the commercial relations with Romania and we hope that the bilateral relations will reach very high levels.

In connection with the aid, we have waited to know what concrete necessities the Romanian Government consider to have priority in order to then start serious actions.

14th Extraordinary LCY Congress Continues

Bulatovic on Proposed Amendments

AU2201175690 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Momir Bulatovic, chairman of the second plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, reading the amendments proposed to the wording on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia transformation contained in the Congress Declaration—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] On behalf of the working presidium, please allow me to state the following: As regards the sentence—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia should as soon as possible transform itself into a modern, united, democratic political organization with a renovated socialist program—we have so far confirmed five amendments. I will check with the amendments' authors whether our service has registered them correctly.

Comrade Janez Kocijancic's amendment to this text was that instead of the sentence that I have just read to you, there should be the sentence: The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] transforms itself into an organization of independent republican organizations of the League of Communists which freely associate in the LCY. The interpretation is correct? [commotion in the hall] Please, we have to first establish that all amendments have been registered in the correct form.

Regarding this sentence, Comrade Svetomir Skaric proposed in his own kind of definition that the LCY transform itself from a sociopolitical organization into a modern political party [stranka]. Was that right? Into a united political party [stranka]. Into a united democratic political party [stranka].

Comrade Branko Horvat proposed that the LCY transform itself into a democratic socialist party. Is that right? Thank you. Comrade Horvat did not in fact advocate a change in the present situation, stating—if I have understood it correctly—that this is not possible now but all those interested in the context of this time and place in this initiative can find out about it. I understand that this has thus fallen by the wayside and it should not be interpreted as an amendment.

Comrade Stanic proposed an amendment that says, as it is registered, the LCY has essentially changed its political doctrine by adopting a positive attitude toward the management of enterprises on the basis of capital ownership. The LCY will therefore transform itself into a political party [stranka] of Yugoslavia. Each organization will decide on the membership of the organization within a period of 15 days. [passage omitted]

It has been shown to be essential for us to nevertheless check how well our panel of experts has registered these amendments. Let me repeat that Comrade Stanic said at the end of his amendment that the LCY will therefore

transform itself into a socialist party [stranka] of Yugoslavia. Membership in this organization will be decided by every member of the organization in a period of 1 month, 1 year, or whatever period is set.

In this way, Comrade Desimir Nedjovic proposed as the fourth amendment to this point that the necessary conditions be created for the present LCY to be transformed into two new parties: into the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted on Bulatovic explaining the rules on how the amendments should be voted upon]

Racan on Croatian Party's Views

AU2201134090 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The plenary session of the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] should begin any minute in the great hall of the Sava Center in Belgrade. The beginning of the session has been postponed because the session of the Commission for the Transformation of the League of Communists and Statutory Questions was extended. The report on the work of the Commission was adopted a half hour ago. In the meantime, Ivica Racan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, held a news conference. Here is Kosta Krajincanic's report:

[Krajincanic] The session of the Congress' Presidium opened at 1300. In the meantime, Ivica Racan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, held a news conference for foreign and Yugoslav journalists and presented the views of the Croatian Communists' delegation. We are still here, Racan said at the beginning of the conference. We are interested in the Congress' success, but the criterion of that success is the extent to which we are capable of taking a democratic and reformist step forward. Therefore, just as we did at the Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia, we advocate the adoption of the Declaration [of the LCY, prepared for the 14th Congress], because it best expresses our views, which are that social reform and political pluralism should be implemented. We want to be a part of the modern European left as much as possible, Racan went on to say and specified that the League of Communists of Croatia supports the abolition of the principle of democratic centralism and is against outvoting. We do support unity in the LCY, albeit unity on a democratic basis. In reply to the question on what the delegation of the League of Communists of Croatia will do if Slovene Communists leave the Congress, Racan said that in that case the Croatian delegation will meet, discuss the situation, and suggest that the Congress be adjourned, but the delegates should agree on how one is to continue it.

Delegate Proposes 2-Party Split

AU2201165790 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Speech by Bosnia-Herzegovina delegate Desimir Nedjovic at the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—live]

[Excerpts] I will speak about the amendment that a group of delegates—not the Bosnian initiative, but a group of participants at the Extraordinary 14th Congress—presented regarding the Declaration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] as an amendment and initiative concerning the text of the Declaration.

I believe that this concerns such an important issue—I do not mean our initiative, but the subject that we are debating—that it warrants that all options offered be presented to the Congress delegates. If nothing else, it is a basic and elementary democratic right that all initiatives and options that can be heard in the debates and congress commissions in the debates on these questions should be explained to all delegates. I do not know how else the delegates could make a decision—in line with the commission's proposal—on rejecting this initiative if they do not know what this in fact involves and if they do not know the explanation for this initiative.

Therefore, I am asking—and if the working presidium thinks that I should not do this, then let them point this out to me—to read what the proposal contains and read the explanation of this initiative. [passage omitted]

The proposal was that, within the framework of point 1 section 2 of the LCY's declaration on priority political actions which speaks about a radical and comprehensive transformation of the LCY, the initiative, in quotation marks—that is the amendment—should be discussed and adopted on creating the necessary conditions for the present LCY to be developed into two new parties: into the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia. [prolonged applause] [passage omitted]

More on Proposal To Split LCY

LD2201175990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—A group of delegates and participants of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress have sent an amendment to the text of a Congress declaration. The amendment proposes that the present LCY transform itself into two new parties: the Communist and the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia.

The initiative, signed by Desimir Medjedovic, Milos Jelic, Zdravko Grebo, Dejan Mastilovic, and Zoran Perkovic, states that for more than 4 decades, the LCY

has not allowed legal political competition, that is, that it was a priori the proprietor of state power "with an unlimited term of office."

The LCY is so heterogenous today, the signatories maintain, that apart from national, cultural, value, and other differences, there is another: the one dividing the party membership into those still loyal to the Communist (Bolshevik) identity and practice, and those convinced that within that framework no significant political breakthrough can be made.

Therefore, they propose that the LCY be transformed into two left-wing political parties: the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia. The first would attract those who are even today convinced of the power of the orthodox communist identity and legitimacy, of its combat-revolutionary ideology and democratic centralism as the key principle of internal organization.

The Socialist Party would attract those who would see its legitimacy and political profile as belonging to the contemporary socialist theory, democratic socialism, and democratic principles of organization, without compulsory disciplining of the membership and hierarchy.

We are convinced, the signatories of the initiative stress, that retaining the status quo, namely, an apparent unity, would only strengthen divisions between republics and provinces, both within and outside the LCY. We hold that changing the LCY name will change nothing, since its identity will still be the heterogeneity—perhaps slightly reduced—of various ideological and political orientations.

Aware of the fact that, as they state, their proposal is a shock which many will not be able to stand, they nonetheless stress that the course of the congress up to now confirms the necessity of their initiative.

LCY Relinquishes Constitutional Monopoly

LD2201180890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] is giving up its constitutionally enshrined monopoly and proposes to the SFRY Assembly to change the SFRY Constitution in this respect.

This decision was made by a substantial majority of votes of the delegates of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, who also adopted the amendment to the proposed declaration put forward by Rajko Novak.

Only 28 delegates voted against this amendment, which will be included in the declaration and whose adoption was greeted by thunderous applause.

Ribicic on Slovene Stand on Transformation

AU2201184390 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Statement by Ciril Ribicic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, at the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress before the vote is taken on the amendment made by Janez Kocijancic—live]

[Text] Comrades, I would like to warn you that one of those amendments proposed by Comrade Janez Kocijancic is an amendment supported by an entire republican organization, that is, the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia. At the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, we delegates to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] were obliged to advocate here that the LCY should be transformed into a league of independent republican organizations, which freely associated into the LCY.

We know, at least it is completely clear to me, that what is involved here is a process, that is, a transformation of the LCY. But it is also clear that this process must begin immediately and must do so here, at the 14th LCY Congress. At this congress, those who strive to make the LCY program seriously lag behind the needs of the times and to even try to homogenize it organizationally on a monolithic foundation are opposed to this process. I would like to point out here that this process of transformation cannot begin if at this congress we fail to establish very clearly the equal and independent position of all republican organizations and to say very clearly that in the LCY there must be no outvoting on essential orientations concerning the statute and program. I have warned you about this because what is involved here is not an amendment from only one delegate, but from one of the republican organizations, that is, one of the republican congresses. Thank you.

Slovene Amendment Rejected

LD2201181690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will remain a united organization. By a majority of votes delegates to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress this evening rejected an amendment to the LCY's proposed declaration calling for the transformation of the League of Communists into a league of equal and independent republican organizations freely incorporated into the LCY.

This amendment, put forward on behalf of the Slovene League of Communists delegation to the 14th extraordinary party congress by Janez Kocijancic, was supported by 169 delegates with 1,156 voting against it.

Other Amendments Rejected

LD2201181790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—The amendment proposed by Branko Horvat that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] transform itself into the Social-Democratic Party was turned down by a majority of votes. Only 16 delegates voted for the proposal.

Almost with the same majority, the delegates of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress turned down three further amendments regarding relations within the LCY: Amendments proposed by Svetomir Skaric (to transform the LCY into the Democratic Political Party); then one by Gojko Stanic (to transform the LCY into the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia); as well as the amendment by Desimir Medjedovic (on the creation of conditions for transforming the LCY into two parties: the socialist and the communist parties of Yugoslavia).

Human Rights Amendment Adopted

LD2201204690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2022 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Communists are in favor of abolishing verbal offenses and all other criminal regulations and laws which restrict and violate human rights and liberties. This is the essence of the amendment to the proposed declaration of the congress put forward by Dragomir Milicevic, which the delegates of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress and members of the LCY bodies, taking part in the work of the plenary session, adopted with a convincing majority of 1,459 votes. Only five delegates voted against the amendment put forward by Milicevic.

Slovene Delegates Walk Out

AU2201215890 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2133 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] We are now going over to our reporter in the Sava center and the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

This report is warranted because the delegates from the League of Communists of Slovenia have in the last few minutes left the congress.

The reasons for this decision and this move were explained by Ciril Ribicic. He said that they attempted on several occasions to turn the course of the congress around. However, it became clear to them that there was no desire to adopt their initiative that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia becomes an alliance of freely-associated republican Leagues of Communists.

We were outvoted during the debate, said Ribicic; we were outvoted on essential questions. He then cited examples concerning the federal structure, Yugoslavia's integration into Europe, and so on.

We have assessed, said Ribicic, that this document—he means the Declaration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—in which we had placed most of our hopes is below the expected level. Slovene Communists will continue to be committed to democratic socialism. We will cooperate with Yugoslavia, and with those who have the same political attitudes as us.

For us, said Ribicic, the decisions of this congress are not acceptable and we can neither endorse nor implement them, therefore the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia will withdraw from the congress because we do not want to also be responsible for the further fate of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

This was the explanation by Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene party, after which all delegates from the League of Communists of Slovenia left the great hall of the Sava Center. The chairman, Momir Bulatovic, continued the plenary session, which all the other delegates endorsed with tumultuous applause.

This is all from the Sava Center.

Milosevic Proposes Congress Continue

*AU2201220990 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 2140 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] [Announcer] I propose that we link up with the events in the great hall of the Sava Center, where Slobodan Milosevic is addressing the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress.

[Milosevic, broadcast in progress] ...at the time when it was set up, which under these conditions of crisis in which we are may cause very grave consequences for the League of Communists, for our entire country, and its future. [applause]

I believe therefore that the congress should not adopt any decision to discontinue its work, but that— with the quorum of the delegates who feel obliged, before their own conscience and before their electoral grassroots that delegated them and sent them to this congress, to preserve a united League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]—it should continue its work and adopt the proper decisions, elect the Central Committee, and determine the guidelines for our further work, without discontinuing the congress. [applause]

I have a quite practical proposal, that the working presidium should now announce a break during which the new number of the delegates attending the congress after the departure of the delegates that have walked out should be established, and that it determine the new quorum. [applause] This is my proposal.

[Congress chairman] The working presidium announces a break until 1115 [2215 GMT].

Croat Delegates Call for Congress End

*LD2201215390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2142 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—After the delegation of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] left the congress, on behalf of the majority of the delegates from the Croat LC, Ivica Racan proposed that the congress end its work.

Racan said that the congress should continue the work when republican and provincial LC organizations examine the newly-created situation and agree on a possible and necessary mode of setting-up a reformed LCY. Racan said that the majority of delegates from the Croat LC will also leave the congress if their demand is not met.

Racan States Croat View on Walkout

*AU2201233990 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Report by Desanka Krstic from the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade on 22 January]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] After the explanation by Ciril Ribicic, the delegates from Slovenia left the Congress Hall. Then Ivica Racan went onto the rostrum to speak:

[Begin Racan recording] Comrades: I am sorry to have to speak now, aware of the seriousness and gravity of the situation, but also aware of the warning and the proposal that I myself presented several hours ago on the need for our congress to work in a somewhat different manner, whereby programmatic points of contact between the Communists of Yugoslavia would be sought to a somewhat greater extent in a more tolerant atmosphere and not points of division and outvoting.

That was an attempt that I made on behalf of the majority of delegates from Croatia at this congress, and it obviously did not have an effect.

What has happened at our congress was probably to a great extent inevitable. It seems to me that it is difficult to speak about the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which remains permanently or temporarily—I hope more temporarily—without one of its organizations, without delegates, without members who come from one of the republics, one of the republican organizations, and from one of the peoples. It is difficult to speak about the Yugoslav character of our party organization and party leadership. This is a situation that we must face. It is serious.

Given the situation that has arisen, I do not see any other alternative but to propose, on behalf of the majority of delegates from the League of Communists of Croatia, that in this situation the congress discontinues its work. I also propose that after the congress is interrupted, the

newly arisen situation should be urgently analyzed as quickly and responsibly as possible in the League of Communists and republican organizations of the League of Communists and, in this context, of course, the reasons for this situation and the relations in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should also be analyzed. In addition, the possible ways of resolving the situation that has arisen and carrying out the possible and necessary reform of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and relations in our organizations in this respect should be analyzed.

Thirdly, I propose that we agree on the time for this serious debate and consideration in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and about the time that is urgently necessary in order to attempt, by analyzing this situation, to arrive at those responses to programmatic questions and the question of our unity which can be the only ones to have any prospects and which can restore a Yugoslav character to our organization and organ.

In this framework, of course, we should agree on how to prepare the resumption of the congress, because I also want to state that in the situation that has arisen, it is difficult to accept a resumption of the congress as if nothing has happened. I think that the situation is such that it undermines the legitimacy of the work of the congress unless an attempt is made to do what I have suggested.

If the congress, nevertheless, decides—despite the situation and the proposal that I have set out—to continue with its work, I want to announce in this respect that the delegates—or at least the majority—from the League of Communists of Croatia do not want to participate in making such decisions in such a situation for the reasons that I have cited, or in the voting for or against any measures. [applause]

However, I will return to the three proposals that I have set out concerning conduct in this situation. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Ribicic Explains Congress Walkout

*AU2201230090 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 2133 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Interview with Ciril Ribicic, president of the League of Communists of Slovenia, by unidentified journalists at the Sava Center in Belgrade on 22 January—recorded]

[Text] [Ribicic] It is not just a matter of walking out of the plenary session; we are leaving the Congress and (?departing for) Ljubljana. This is the end of the illusions that we have cultivated to the effect that a reform view might win out at the congress; a view that would return the initiative to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia leadership.

Our assessment about the previous period is that the center, the party federal center, was hindering rather than encouraging reforms in Yugoslavia, and was

blocking rather than ensuring a successful implementation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia program directives.

[Reporter] Comrade Ribicic, all day today, as well as in the past few days, we have been following the discussions at the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress. It was essentially a dialogue between the League of Communists of Serbia and the League of Communists of Slovenia, and an intention was virtually present that the League of Communists of Slovenia should be chased out of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Do you think that this intention has been realized with this act?

[Ribicic] As elected delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia, we had a very clear guidance that we were going to the extraordinary congress so that we could actively strive for the adoption of the best possible documents. From this point of view, I think that we have shown both great will and great patience, as well as perseverance, in advancing our positions.

You know that in a special statement yesterday, we warned that such a conduct of the congress leads to destruction. Any view that was expressed by the League of Communists of Slovenia was immediately countered by numerous rebuttals and attacks, especially by comrades from the League of Communists of Serbia, which prevented any kind of productive dialogue.

Therefore, we advocated yesterday that as of that moment, if we want to ensure an equal position for our organization, there must be no outvoting of the several republican organizations on any essential statute, cadre, or program positions. This is precisely what was happening all day today.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] because of which the League of Communists of Slovenia, or rather the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia, decided on this step. What has prevailed in your decision?

[Ribicic] We can find an innumerable number of points in our discussions so far, some of which are rather of long-term nature. But certainly the coolness with which the 14th extraordinary Congress today rejected our initiative, the initiative of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, made the greatest contribution. Our initiative is that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be transformed into a league of independent republican organizations that freely join together in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

I think that we offered a hand, a hand of compromise, so that only the first step should be taken in this direction at the 14th Congress, and that the next steps be taken later, during a protracted process when the statute and the new League of Communists of Yugoslavia Program are to be prepared and adopted.

This minimum first step was our demand that there should be no outvoting on essential program, statute, and cadre positions.

[Reporter] The League of Communists of Slovenia Conference is to be convened 2 February. What will you report to the delegates?

[Ribicic] We have great and extensive tasks to achieve at this conference. In brief, the conference is not intended only to hear a report on how successful we would have been at the 14th Congress; it is also intended for some other initiatives, and especially the preparations for the spring elections.

[Reporter] Comrade Ribicic, can you say something about the initiative to divide the League of Communists of Yugoslavia into a social democratic or socialist (?party) and this orthodox party, which is obviously present at the congress and also in the party?

[Ribicic] These discussions have certainly shown that it is a matter of deep differences. It seemed on the first day that we would succeed in putting the reform line into the foreground, as a criterion for judging progressive or conservative views of the several delegates. This means that we tried to make, if I may say so, a distinction among us on the basis of actual differences in views, and not on the basis of territorial origin. Unfortunately, this has not been successful.

More on Ribicic's Remarks

LD2201221590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2154 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—At the proposal of Ciril Ribicic, the delegation of Slovene Communists this evening decided to end its participation in the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress.

Before calling on the delegates from his republic to leave "Sava" Center, Ribicic said that for them the congress had ended because of several unsuccessful attempts to reverse the course of this congress. Not only has our idea of transforming the LCY into a "League of Leagues" been rejected; we are not even guaranteed minimum autonomy for our organization until a new program and statute are adopted, Ribicic said.

Having drawn attention to his statement yesterday, Ribicic stressed that the Slovene delegation was outvoted on vital issues such as our calls for Europe now, human rights, and even federal system. For Ribicic the congress declaration is below the expectations of the delegates from the Slovene League of Communists.

Unplanned Break in Congress

LD2201221390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2157 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—Late tonight delegates at the 14th congress stopped work and left for an unplanned break.

This development, coming at the very end of the discussion on the congress declaration, occurred following the

decision of the delegates from Slovenia to leave the congress. There followed Ivica Racan's proposal that for the time being the congress should completely stop its work. Slobodan Milosevic categorically demanded that the meeting should continue as early as tonight with a new quorum and without the delegates who had left it.

Croatia's Racan Urges Suspension

LD2201233290 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Following Ciril Ribicic's remarks [at the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Congress], Slovene delegates walked out of the congress hall. Ivica Racan then was asked to speak.

[Begin Racan recording] Comrades, I am taking the floor with regret and with an awareness of the serious and difficult nature of the situation, and of the fact that I, myself, made certain warnings and proposals several hours ago concerning the need for the congress to change the course of its work and to search, in a more tolerant atmosphere, for those points in the program which will keep Yugoslav communists together and not for points of division or even outvoting.

The efforts I made on behalf of the majority of Croat delegates at the congress do not seem to have produced the desired results. What happened at our congress was, to a large extent, inevitable. It seems to me that it is hard to speak about the LCY, about the LCY organ, being left, either forever or just temporarily—and I hope it will be temporary—without one of its organizations, without delegates, without members from one republican organization, from one nation. As I said, it is difficult to speak about the Yugoslav character of our party organization and of the party leadership. This situation is one we must face. It is a serious situation. In light of the newly created situation I have no choice but to propose, on behalf of the majority of delegates from the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia, that the congress suspend its work and that, once the congress has interrupted its work, the LC, the LC organizations in the republics, urgently review the newly created situation, examine the reasons behind it, and, within the same framework, examine relations within the LCY, possible ways of resolving the existing situation, implementing necessary reforms of the LCY, and of relations within our organization.

We must also agree here on the deadline for this serious debate and discussion in the LC and on the time needed, despite the newly created situation, to arrive at the answers to the issues of our program and of our unity—answers which must have prospects and must restore the Yugoslav character of our organization and of this organ of the LCY. To this end we must also agree on how to prepare for the resumption of the congress. I wish to say that in this new situation it is hard to proceed with the congress as if nothing has happened. I think that the situation is such that if no effort is made to accomplish what I have suggested, the very legitimacy of the congress will be put into question. If, by ignoring the newly

created situation and the proposal I made, the congress decides to continue its work, I wish to state that the delegates, or the majority of delegates from the LC of Croatia, will no longer wish to take part in the decision making process either by voting for or against. [applause]

I, therefore, wish to reiterate the three proposals which I made before and which concern our reaction to the present situation. [end recording]

Macedonian LC May Leave Congress

LD2201230990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—Because the delegates from Slovenia abandoned the 14th extraordinary congress of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia [LCY] and the delegates from Croatia intimated that they were going to do the same, I believe that the delegates from the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia should also do the same. We were told this by Branko Crvenkovski, a member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium and a delegate at the 14th LCY Congress.

The controversial documents at this congress, said Crvenkovski, should be sent back for the widest possible discussion and a new congress convened only when we are ready to do so.

I believe that the delegates of the LC of Slovenia at this congress were ready for a compromise, but we did not give them a chance to do so, said Crvenkovski in conclusion.

We have learned unofficially that the Macedonian delegates at the congress are now discussing their final decision.

Markovic on LCY

LD2201231490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2250 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will operate with or without the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. This was the only sentence which a group of journalists managed to extract from Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president and a delegate of the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress, after the Slovene delegates walked out from the congress and after Croat delegates heralded to do the same.

At the instance of journalists to say more on the subject, Markovic added that he will make a statement at the congress.

Ribicic Urges Slovene Departure

LD2201231390 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Speech by Ciril Ribicic at League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress session in Belgrade on 22 January—recorded]

[Text] Comrade delegates, I do not have an amendment to put forward, but I would like to make a statement regarding the adoption of this declaration.

For us, the delegates of the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] congress from Slovenia, this extraordinary congress, has come near to the end. On several occasions we tried to change the course of the congress. I would like to recall yesterday's statement and a proposal put forward by our delegation. The decisions already adopted made it clear to us, the delegates of the Slovene League of Communists [LC], that not just is there a lack of willingness to adopt our initiative for the LCY transformation into a league of independent republican organizations freely linked into a LCY, but also there is a lack of willingness to accept the minimum which would ensure the basic autonomy, independence, and equality of our republican organization in the transitional period until a new LCY program and statute are adopted.

Yesterday, in our proposal, we said that from that moment forward it is not possible to outvote entire republican organizations regarding basic cadre, statutory, and program issues. You all know that today, at this plenary session, decisions were made by outvoting. Slovenia was outvoted even when all delegates of the Slovene LC voted against some decisions. I am convinced that this is the best way to break up the LCY. We were outvoted about such important issues regarding our adopted program documents, such as advocating Europe Now, human rights and liberties, confederacy, and even the basic character of the federal structure of Yugoslavia. Occasionally, the intolerance in conducting dialogues clearly affected us.

Therefore, we assess that this document, for which we had great hopes, is far below our expectations and lags behind reform-orientated left-wing parties in the socialist countries. It lags behind program orientations for the democracy of the pro-Yugoslav and prosocialist forces in Yugoslavia in some of its republics. There is no doubt that the decisions of the congress do not meet the minimum demanded by the 11th congress of the Slovene LC, in the area of economic and political reforms and LCY transformations

The Slovene communists, based on our specific conditions, will continue to advocate democratic socialism and Yugoslavia as a state of equal and sovereign republics, and, at the same time, we shall cooperate with those who will have similar program orientations to our own. The Slovene LC will cooperate with the LCY after the congress on a free and consensual basis, grounded in

common program orientations and mutual interests. We acknowledge decisions made by the majority at the plenum. However, these decisions are unacceptable to us and cannot bind us. Therefore, I propose that all delegates of the Slovene LC who agree that the conditions, unfortunately, exist for us to leave the 14th, extraordinary, LCY congress, do so. We do not want to share responsibility for the agony of the LCY in which it is led by the present impositions of will and those who impose their wills. Thank you. [applause]

Kucan: Departure Not End of LCY

LD2301051790 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0027 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)—The decision of the Slovene delegates to leave the 14th special congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia does not necessarily mean an end of the LCY, Milan Kucan, until recently leader of Slovene Communists, said tonight. In his view, the Slovene action "should make any normal organization wonder over how to constitute unity on vital points of its programme, while preserving the complete autonomy of its parts."

Kucan described the Slovene delegates' decision as the beginning of an unravelment of the party crisis. It is hard to say how the unravelment will continue, but it will certainly be neither easy nor quick, he said. Happily, remarked Kucan, the future of the country does not depend decisively on events in the League of Communists and I hope that it will never again depend on any party.

Talking to TANJUG's reporter during a break in the Congress proceedings, made to enable the leadership time to decide how to go on after the Slovene walk-out, Kucan categorically stated that "there is no way for the League of Communists of Slovenia returning to the LCY as it is." He did not rule out a possibility of another Communist Party "with different political options" being formed in Slovenia "after all these breakups."

Slovenes on Congress Departure

LD2301115590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0138 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—The departure of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] does not mean the departure of Slovenia from Yugoslavia, because for a long time now the Slovene party has not been a state party, Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, said at a briefing for domestic and foreign journalists last night. The talks, in which both Stefan Korosec and Milan Kucan took part, were held in the Intercontinental Hotel following the Slovene delegates decision to walk out of the 14th LCY Congress.

It is a very difficult decision which could have far-reaching consequences. However, our 11th congress gave

us precise instructions and authority from which we could not deviate. Our action will be assessed as early as tomorrow by the Slovene LC Central Committee, which will also be attended by the Slovene delegates who attended the congress. In any event, this act does not mean the end of the LCY, but the beginning of serious talks about how the LCY should be organized, Ribicic stressed. In his assessment, it is possible to have talks about a return to the LCY if the aspirations expressed at this congress are fulfilled.

There are two vital reasons which forced us to take this step. The first is the LCY's lagging behind the needs of the moment and behind the democratic processes evident in Slovenia, Yugoslavia, and Europe. The second reason, according to Ribicic, lies in the fact that the conflicts in the LCY have strengthened separatist tendencies, not only in Slovenia but also in other parts of the country. If our step today contributes to negotiations and the development of democracy, then it will strengthen and not weaken Yugoslavia.

Our aim was not to force a solution by issuing an ultimatum. We tried to direct the debate to vital issues upon which the future of Communists in every part of the country depends, Milan Kucan added. These issues were contained in the congress documents, but during the last 2 days there has been no discussion about them. Today there was an attempt to compensate for incompetence by having a vote.

Our initiative to proceed with a debate on open questions came to nothing, and this was precisely with the republic with which we have the most serious problems.

For us, the changes and addenda to the statute, which sanction the existing relations which we wanted to change, were controversial. And, Kucan stressed, it would not be possible for us, as a minority, to further influence LCY decisions.

Replying to the question of whether the LCY is a condition for Yugoslavia's survival, Ciril Ribicic said that the LCY is, objectively speaking, not a force which contributes to strengthening the country, but on the contrary, deepens the division between the federal units.

Have you thought of the consequences of this act for Slovenia and its possible isolation? It is not a matter of our having thought about isolation; rather we made this decision under conditions of isolation. The attitude toward a nation and toward a republican delegation is best testified to by the atmosphere at the moment we walked out of the congress, and the proposal to simply establish a new quorum and resume the congress' work. This was proposed by an individual who recently stated that undemocratic things are happening in the Slovene part of Yugoslavia. For him, then, neither the Slovene people, nor the state, nor the republican delegation at the congress exist. We are isolated in terms of such thinking. This act could in fact be the beginning of a break in the isolation, Kucan said.

Ciril Ribicic said that cooperation between the Slovene LC and the LCY will depend on mutual interests and the readiness for dialogue. There are many common orientations. Today the main emphasis is on differences, but if relations were different, the main emphasis would be on what we have in common.

Replying to the allegation of one journalist, Kucan did not agree with a comparison of the situation in Serbia with the situation in Romania and Czechoslovakia. Not only do the Romanian and Czechoslovak paths exist—a Yugoslav way could also exist. Unfortunately, he added, the LCY, for a number of years and today as well, has not been successful in evaluating its priorities. The key lies in the separation of the party from the state and the LC's entry into political competition. The precondition for this is free elections throughout the country. In a multinational country, the Constitution cannot be adopted by voting. When this is understood, the way for emerging from the crisis will be opened up, Kucan believes.

Replying to the question of whether his position had not obliged him to at least remain at the congress, Stefan Korosec said that this evening each person had to adopt a decision for himself and everyone together. It is true that I am in a specific position. But I am a Yugoslav because I am a Slovene. Moreover, I came to the post of secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Slovene LC. The basic reason for this decision lies in betrayed expectations.

Croats Claim 'Were Cheated'

AU2301120890 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] A group of Congress delegates from Croatia, which considers the Congress to be adjourned [prekinut], is addressing the public in order to express its protest at the events that have occurred and the moves made after the Slovene delegation had left the Congress. It is said in the announcement that the Croatian delegates presented their view that the Congress is invalid if one republican organization is absent.

Ivica Racan, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, asked that the congress be adjourned and said that the Croatian delegation could not take part in adopting invalid decisions. He suggested that the Congress may continue when it is made possible for all delegations to attend it.

It has turned out that we were cheated at that point, too, the group of delegates from Croatia points out. The delegates say that in their attempt to prevent a rift in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], when the LCY Central Committee Presidium asked them to do so, they agreed to go back to the congress hall in order that the congress adjournment could be announced and the date of its continuation given.

Although we concluded that the congress in an invalid composition cannot adopt decisions or validly vote on

them, the delegates from Croatia say, Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, acted as if he had our consent to continue the congress. By calling for a vote on his own proposal to adjourn the congress' work at the second plenary session and resume it at the third one after convening a Central Committee session, he tried to create the illusion of the legitimacy of such congress work and hide the essence of the reason for adjourning it.

Although the entire delegation of the League of Communists of Croatia refused to take part in the improvised voting, in which votes were not in fact counted, Pancevski proclaimed that the decision could be validly adopted. This has once again shown that the equality of republican League of Communists organizations was ignored at the congress, it is said in the announcement made by a group of delegates from Croatia.

3d Plenum To Elect New Leaders

LD2301050990 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0322 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)—After a demonstrative walk-out by the Slovene delegation, delegates to the 14th special Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia early this morning decided to break off the meeting.

Following the Slovene action, which could have been expected in view of the confrontations in Congress debates during the past three days, the party Presidency and the working Presidency of the Congress jointly proposed that the Congress documents be adopted and new party leadership elected at the next, third plenary session of the Congress. They did not specify when it would be held but only said that the date would be announced by the Central Committee of the LCY.

The proposals were accepted by the delegates. They also agreed that the possibilities of resolving the biggest party crisis in the postwar history of Yugoslavia should be discussed by the Party Central Committees in the Yugoslav Republics and provinces, along with a recommendation that everything should be done to preserve the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Central Committee Election

AU2301074590 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0303 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The second plenary session of the 14th extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] ended early this morning. At the proposal of the Presidium of the Central Committee and the working presidium of the Congress, it was decided that the congress should adjourn and continue its work at a third plenary session on which the Central Committee will decide.

Until then, all Central and Provincial Committees, as well as the Committee of the League of Communists in

the Yugoslav People's Army, should discuss the situation that has resulted from the Slovene delegates' departure from the congress.

The third plenary session should also adopt the congress documents which have been discussed over the last 3 days. The session will also elect the new LCY Central Committee.

Plenary Session To Continue

AU2301090290 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0836 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Let us hear a special statement that Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, gave to our colleague Momcilo Boskovic immediately following the last plenary session of the 14th extraordinary congress that ended last night or, better said, this morning at around 0400:

[Begin recording] [Boskovic] Comrade Pancevski, what is your comment on this decision that has been made?

[Pancevski] It is most important for us that the congress will continue to work and that, in my opinion, at that plenary session we shall adopt the documents that we had planned to adopt.

[Boskovic] Approximately when can that be expected to happen?

[Pancevski] Well, I believe that the Central Committee will probably decide that it should be held in 15 or 20 days or possibly even in 1 month. [end recording]

Pancevski Announces Plenum Adjournment

AU2301114290 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Speech by Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, announcing the adjournment of the second plenary session; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Expressing concern about the development of events and proceeding from the conviction that even in the most critical periods of its work, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] always possessed and found strength to successfully overcome the problems it was facing. The Congress' Working Presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium issued an appeal to the effect that this situation should not lead to a further exacerbation of interethnic relations and creation of a negative political situation in the country.

In their attempt to find the most rational solutions in order to overcome this situation and proceeding from a sense of exceptional responsibility for the fate of the LCY, the Congress' Working Presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium have endorsed the following proposals:

First, the next—that is, the third plenary session of the Congress, should adopt the proposed documents and corresponding decisions, and hold elections of new LCY organs [applause]. The date of the third plenary session will be set by the LCY Central Committee. Therefore, one will try to solve the main problems in the situation in which the LCY finds itself today.

Second, the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, as well as other LCY organs, should continue their work and carry out necessary political preparations for the continuation of the Congress.

Third, central and provincial committees, as well as conferences of the League of Communists, should hold their sessions in the meantime, examine the present situation, and carry out necessary preparations for the continuation of the Congress.

Fourth, the delegates of the LCY Congress should continue to comply with our program orientation of preserving the unity of the LCY. [applause]

Fifth, the Extraordinary LCY Congress calls on all Yugoslav Communists to consistently implement the LCY policy in their communities and to act in the direction of preserving unity and integrity of the LCY and the SFRY. [applause]

The Working Presidium is asking the Congress delegates to accept these proposals which were made by the Congress' Working Presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium. We would like to ask you not to hold a debate, but solely for the purpose of adopting these proposals. All other problems will be discussed after... [corrects himself] that is, during the third plenary session the date of which will be set by our Central Committee. I ask the Congress to accept these proposals.

LCY Transformation Commission Meets 20 Jan

LD2101120290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—Major changes have taken place in the socialist world. They have not left Yugoslavia behind. Some of them have been initiated by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], but we must be honest and stress that some have taken place outside the LCY and at times even against us.

These were the words of Boris Muzevic in his introductory report at the session of the commission for transformation of the LCY of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, which began some time after 1700 (1600 GMT). Two hundred and seventy-one Congress delegates registered for the commission's work.

Boris Muzevic stressed in particular that the political map of Yugoslavia has already been changed. Constructing a multiparty system is under way. This fact is not only obvious, but it also requires sanctioning a multiparty system in society. I must underline that Congress documents contain some assessments and

stands that are no longer topical. The congress delegates must become aware of this and find enough strength to change the stands and documents in the spirit of democratization. It was our fortune that the state already broke off with the LCY as the leading force in society. This we must understand and acknowledge. If we fail to do it, we will lose a great deal in the eyes of society. I am certain, though, that the LCY and its clear and consistent documents will win over the LC members and citizens, and that it will consistently implement these orientations.

During the congress we must clearly define and overcome the differences which have been pointed out so far in some draft documents (democratic centralism, out-voting, minority-majority relations). We are experiencing radical changes, stressed Boris Muzevic in his introductory report. If we are politically courageous, the LCY may be able to cut into the essence of relations that lead us toward socialist democracy. [Passage omitted: Jovo Ugrcic, chairman of the LCY statutory commission, points out general consent, reached during public discussion by LC members, that the leading role of the LC should not be a priori quoted in the statute or in the Constitution because only the results in practice can be competent. For this reason, in Ugrcic's words, the statutory commission opted for a new text of article one of the statute, which in a more modern way determines the LCY's character and aims]

The article of the statute which refers to the dictatorship of the proletariat has been omitted while, not without a great deal of controversy, the provision according to which the republican and provincial party organizations are united within the LCY remains. Their independence and equality were pointed out, as well as their responsibility for the implementation of the established LC policy. All factors within the LC, from basic organizations to central and provincial committees, are independent in their activities within the framework of a uniform party policy.

Ugrcic noted that significant changes were carried out in provisions on the LCY's role in our new political and parliamentary system, which presume the party's democratic participation in "competition," on an equal footing with other political organizations. This in fact means the LC is renouncing its privileged position and is striving toward a new way of building its authority. [passage omitted: Ugrcic recalls unfinished discussion on democratic centralism on which no consent has yet been reached because of divided views. He calls for greater interest and responsibility by members in implementing democratically adopted decisions]

The draft amendments to the party statute also envision a repeat of discussions on fundamental program questions, especially on interethnic relations and equality, if considerable differences arise between republican and provincial LC organizations. [passage omitted: Rights of members established by the statute cannot be taken away or restricted]

For all elections to the LC there will be compulsory proposing of more than one candidate and also a secret ballot.

In conclusion, Ugrcic stated that the draft amendments "shortened" the statute by 42 articles and that the changes, though not major, would still contribute to a more efficient organization, activity, as well as the LCY's democratization in the period up to the realization of a new party statute, on which this congress should make a separate decision. [passage omitted: Slobodan Lang said the LC must look toward the future to a much greater extent and objected to the fact that there are no eminent people from Eastern and Western Europe present at the congress. Milan Garic pointed out the LCY's failure to successfully deal with pollution and other ecological disasters. Irfan Isovici said the LC should be ashamed of failing to ensure decent life for its people. He also called for abolition of Marxist education in schools and came out against the LC in enterprises]

In the Yugoslav People's Army, only soldiers and cadets should be party-oriented, while officers, if they so wish, could belong in organizations in local communities.

Isovici stressed that Army officers must not belong just to one party. In conclusion, he said the provincial LC organizations should not produce candidates for the LCY Central Committee president because in this way the Serbian LC is in privileged position. [passage omitted: Dobroslov Radovic called for an LCY as a united organization based on the principle of democratic centralism. He also favored the inclusion of stands on Kosovo in the declaration. The LCY as it stands make no sense, said Mico Carevic pointing out contradictory definitions of LC in the congress documents. He called for urgent LCY transformations. Zoran Josic noted the deepening crisis in LC. Momcilo Mulutinovic complained about the decreasing number of workers in the party and called for a modern LCY with truly democratic principles and a clear idea about social development. Nenad Zivanovic remarks that the president of the LCY CC Presidium failed to appear in public in the past weeks and was replaced by the secretary. Reactions to this are proffered. LCY is criticized for the way in which it conducted the elections.]

Petar Radinovic stressed that the discussion so far, 2 and 1/2 hours, showed that no one, with few exceptions, spoke about the LCY's reform. [passage omitted: He called on those who did not wish to discuss it to leave the room. Nenad Zivanovic pointed out that the situation in the party during these past months became worse after every session.]

Zivanovic directly blamed Bosko Krunic, Milanko Renovica, and Stipe Suvar who, in his view, were responsible for the party's present situation. They completed their mandates with recognitions and awards! He asked whether the LCY was a workers' party. The reply was no because Slovenia and Croatia did not put forward direct

producers as candidates for members of the LCY leadership. Our LCY must be a united, workers' league and not a league of leagues.

On behalf of the supervisory commission, Peter Skrlin drew attention to problems of party financing, stressing that most of the funds from membership fees went on LC forums, which in fact financially supported their bureaucratization. The membership no longer wishes to pay for LC irrationalities. [passage omitted: If our revolution is to advance it must have a vision of the future, said Mirosljub Vasic. We must act while there is still time.]

Predrag Vranicki proposed that a new party, the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia, be formed from the LCY and the Socialist Alliance of Working People, which, with its democratic activity and socialist program, based partly on the LCY program, would be capable of matching other political organizations.

The situations in Europe and in Yugoslavia are marked by stormy developments and changes, explained Vranicki. Many, even with the best of intentions, do not yet understand that. One can no longer act as before; there is a need to change the old structure and to partly change the ideology, and especially the methods of action. This is not to gain new members and above all voters, but to ensure Yugoslavia's "left" course.

Analyzing the historic background of socialist and communist parties, Vranicki said Yugoslavia's economic integration in Europe should also be followed by political integration. We cannot count on communist parties in the East because they are falling apart. The ones in the West are in a minority, noted Vranicki.

Specifying that we are faced with a major radical proposal, Vranicki said he was not asking the congress to reach a conclusion about it. It is up to our new party leadership, he added, to examine this proposal, submit it for party debate and finally establish a definite stand.

The communist idea has not yet been exhausted in Yugoslavia, stressed Mico Carevic replying to Predrag Vranicki. He thinks the problem lies in bad management and assesses Professor Vranicki's idea on the transformation of the LCY into a modern socialist party as one-sided. [passage omitted: One feels ashamed and uncomfortable today to be a member of a Communist Party either in the East or in the West. The LCY must strive to become a modern party and must strive toward European integration, said Zvonko Jurina. In his view this congress is the LCY's last chance to show it is a capable party and strong enough to propose modern, effective solutions to social development. Delegate Slavko Sosak agrees that it is high time for changes.

Dragan Gligic conveyed to the Congress the message by Communists and people from Prijedor and the Mount Kozara Region, who called for a united LCY. He said there are no nationalist feelings among these people and if there were any, they were caused by LC leaders. Ramo Atlagic speaks on behalf of Communists from Tuzla Region and how the LC of Bosnia and Hercegovina contributed to the unmasking of the Neum affair. For Dragisa Veskovic this is a congress of hope both for LC members and the people. The people are fed up with lies and quarrels and believe it is high time to thin the LC ranks and to restore the party's reputation in society. The congress must give a clear reply to the strategic question of social development, says Dusko Djordjevski, calling for a multiparty system. He warned of Albanian nationalism and separatism in western Macedonia and also in all multi-national environments. For the last speaker, Ljubomir Sandic, this is a Congress of hope and he was against those who favor "the abolition of symbols and disintegration of the LCY."

This morning and this evening, 25 delegates took the floor at the commission for the LCY's transformation. The discussion in the commission for the LCY's transformation continues tomorrow at 0700 GMT and over 70 delegates asked to take part.